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JPRS 83074

16 March 1983

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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2118

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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT OF LEBANESE CP DELEGATION

AU141425 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 83 p 1, 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "Support for the Arab People's Fight"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Feb--A delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP), headed by George Hawi, LCP Central Committee secretary general, visited the CSSR from 7 to 10 February 1983 at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. During its stay in the CSSR, the delegation was received by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president; and by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary. At the conclusion of the LCP delegation's visit a joint communique was adopted, which states among other things:

In the course of their negotiations, the representatives of the two sides expressed deep gratification over the development of fraternal relations between the CPCZ and LCP to date. At the same time they confirmed their mutual wish to adopt measures for further developing them and for deepening them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism on the basis of their common fight against imperialism and for peace, progress, and socialism.

The two sides discussed problems of the current international situation and stated with gratification their full concurrence of opinion on all issues under discussion. They devoted particular attention to assessing the developments in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon. In this connection they concurrently stated that the cause of the Mideast crisis lies in the continuing aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles, supported by American imperialism, a policy which is mainly aiming to realize the plan on the U.S. domination of the area and the liquidation of the Arab National Liberation Movement and of the Palestine Resistance Movement.

The two sides resolutely demand a halt of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the immediate and unconditional departure of Israeli troops from the entire territory of Lebanon on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions. They spoke in favor of normalizing the situation in the country on the basis of ensuring its unity, territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty and freedom.

The two delegations agreed in the opinion that the achievement of a comprehensive solution in the Middle East must also include the complete and unconditional departure of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and the ensurance of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right of self-determination and the creation of their own, independent state under the leadership of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the sense of the conclusions approved by the All-Arab Conference in Fes, conclusions which essentially coincide with the USSR's proposals for resolving the Mideast crisis.

In this connection the CPCZ and LCP highly appraised the Soviet Union's principled stand against the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, its support for the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine and its constant effort and initiative for achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The two sides stressed that the current situation in the Middle East demands, more than ever before, the cohesion and action unity of all progressive forces of the Arab world. They agreed in the opinion that the consolidation of the alliance of Arab peoples and countries with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is a firm base against the insidious imperialist-Zionist plans in the area.

The two sides spoke in favor of ending the war conflict between Iran and Iraq, which is exhausting both countries and enabling imperialism and the reactionary forces to realize their plans in the area. They stressed the need to settle controversial issues by means of negotiations.

The CPCZ and the LCP concurrently stated that American imperialism is striving in every way to reverse the development of events in the world, and to halt the tangible progress achieved in favor of international detente, peaceful coexistence and the liberation of peoples.

In this connection the two sides stressed the extraordinary significance of security in Europe for averting the danger of war and consolidating world peace. They pointed out the serious threat for world peace lying in the NATO plans to deploy new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in western Europe.

The two sides expressed high appreciation of the political declaration adopted by the Warsaw Pact member states' political consultative committee in Prague, as a document of historic significance and one showing the way out of the current tense international situation, the way toward alleviating it and toward preserving and consolidating peace.

CSO: 2400/160

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED MESSAGE ON CIVIL DEFENSE ANNIVERSARY PUBLISHED

AU141520 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[ADN report: "Gratitude and Recognition for High Achievements: SED Central Committee Greetings Address on 25th Anniversary of Civil Defense"]

[Text] The SED Central Committee has sent the following congratulatory message, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to the members and voluntary staff workers of GDR civil defense:

On the 25th anniversary of the GDR civil defense, the SED Central Committee extends to you cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings.

Faithful to your class assignment you have made great efforts under the leadership of our party to honorably fulfill the civil defense tasks in the past two-and-a half decades.

Your self-sacrificing readiness for action and loyal discharge of duties in actions for the prevention of catastrophes and damage and for the elimination of their effects as well as in training and exercises are helping to strengthen the GDR and to enhance the defense capability of our socialist fatherland. As a result of this GDR civil defense has also earned for itself a respected place in society.

The Central Committee expresses gratitude and recognition to you for all this. In particular, gratitude is due to the comrades and friends who have helped in 25 years of work to create civil defense leadership organs and formation which are always ready for action, as well as to the many women and girls who are active in your ranks in addition to fulfilling their professional and family duties.

The present complex class struggle situation requires us to further enhance the readiness for action and performance of the staffs, training institutions, formations and alert forces. The consistent assertion of the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party always has been and still is the source of all successes. Great significance attaches to the political-ideological education work and to the struggle for top training results within the framework of competition.

The SED Central Committee also expects you in the future to safeguard the protection of the population and of all that has been created by joint efforts under complex conditions.

We are firmly convinced that you will employ all your strength for the successful implementation of the 10th SED Congress decisions which are aimed at the people's well-being and at peace.

We wish you new successes, good health, creative vigor and all the best for your responsible work which serves peace.

CSO: 2300/141

LUTHER'S INTEGRATION INTO 'SOCIALIST NATIONAL CULTURE' ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Feb 83 p 5

/TAbroad' feature article signed "sk," datelined Berlin, 17 February: "National Identity Problems of the GDR--1983, The Year to Commemorate Karl Marx and Martin Luther." A translation of a report on Kurt Hager's speech, cited below, given at the Seventh Congress of Historians in East Berlin, 6-9 December 1982, is published under the heading, "Charge of Scientific Deficiency in GDR Historiography Disputed" (subheaded "Kurt Hager on Historians' Tasks"), in JPRS 82564, 30 Dec 82, No 2090 of this series, pp 87-93. For other discussions on the subject of Luther and some additional references to related information, see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Developed Socialism' Phase Allows Positive View of Luther" (two articles by Dr Kurt Nowak, Leipzig theologian, and GDR Academician Prof Adolf Laube, respectively), in JPRS 82872, 16 Feb 83, No 2107, pp 13-22; "Luther Seen Striving 'To Eliminate Social Conflicts'" (by Prof Adolf Laube), in 82626, 12 Jan 83, No 2093, pp 4-7; "Luther's Ethics Seen Compatible With 'Socialist Ethics'" (report on 'Christian Circles' conference, Halle, October 1982), in 82346, 30 Nov 82, No 2080, pp 2-12; "Regime's Conspicuous Interest in 'Luther Jubilee' Analyzed" and "State, Church Approaches to Luther Legacy Contrasted" (both NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG articles), in 82490, 17 Dec 82, No 2087, pp 43-44 and 80104, 16 Feb 82, No 1975, pp 44-46, respectively; "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture'" (East Berlin EINHEIT), in 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948, pp 16-33; and two East Berlin press items on preparations for 1983 Luther festivities, in JPRS 80582, 15 Apr 82, No 1999, pp 47-50 and 80439, 30 Mar 82, No 1993, pp 35-37

/Text/ Historiographic remembrance in the GDR this year focuses on two personalities who exercised very divergent influences indeed--Karl Marx and Martin Luther. The ostensible reason for the preparations of the commemorative festivities--pursued under government direction at considerable expense--is the 500th jubilee of the German reformer's birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of the founder of communist ideology relating to the state and society. Statements and pronouncements by state and party leaders as well as the propagandist treatment of the double anniversary in the media indicate that an attempt is being made to fuse Marx's and Luther's significance for the GDR's politico-historic national identity.

Honecker Chairman of the Luther Committee

Preparations for 1983, the Luther Year, began in 1980 with the setting up of the state Luther Committee, headed by GDR Council of State Chairman Honecker. It took

SED until the end of 1982 to remember the 100th anniversary of the death of its politico-ideological ancestor. Thereupon it promptly proclaimed 1983 the Karl Marx Year. Since then the SED has been invoking the "revolutionary and theoretician of the working class" with increasing propagandist fanfare, to elicit from the public affirmations of loyalty to communist ideology and the GDR as well as the assumption of greater performance obligations.

The SED Central Committee theses on the Karl Marx Year do not suggest any advance from the party's rigid Marxist-Leninist ideology relating to the state and society. Even a cautious opening to socialist thought, such as left revisionists developed in the West, is firmly rejected as "sectarianism"--something needing to be resolutely opposed in order to maintain "political identity." The "achievements of socialism" must be defended against all "counterrevolutionary attacks, whether at home or abroad," say the SED theses.

The GDR's economic problems loom large in the preparations for the Karl Marx Year. Calling upon Marx, appeals are launched for greater productivity and the intensively expanded reproduction of the national economy. At the same time the party continues to cling to a firm belief in progress--oriented to unrestrained economic growth--in total disregard of new problems such as the pollution of the environment.

#### Call for a Socialist National Culture

The SED's appeal for the comprehensive development of the GDR's "socialist national culture" yields point of contact between the Karl Marx Year and the Luther Year. Kurt Hager, Politburo member competent for ideology, said at a congress of historians in East Berlin that the fact of GDR socialism being profoundly rooted in history assumes an important place in the historical identity of the "socialist German nation." According to him the GDR pursues the best traditions of German history. These arose in centuries of struggle for a socially just and decent system. Though Hager denies that there had ever been "historiographic deficiencies" in the GDR, the mere fact of Honecker having lately described the reformer as "one of the greatest sons of the German people," leads us to doubt the truth of that denial. Moreover, the almost unprecedented government expenditure on the Luther commemoration festivities argues that the leaders are indeed intent on making good historiographic deficiencies. Luther is very definitely placed in the spotlight as a "personality" of the GDR's national culture.

#### Inclusion of Theological Aspects

At the same time we note an unmistakable tendency to define a more sophisticated image of Luther than used to obtain in the early years of the GDR. In those days Luther was acknowledged merely to have some merit with regard to the "early bourgeois revolution." Now an attempt is being made to include theological aspects, "the central significance of theology," in the total image of the reformer. The background to this change may be the tacit acknowledgment of the fact that an unduly one-sided interpretation of Luther has not taken root in a GDR struggling for national identity in a divided Germany. Hager cautiously hinted at this problem. He said that to confine the "disputation" on the reformer to the topic of "Luther and his attitude to the peasants" would run the risk of "possibly overlooking" his meaning for the "national education of our people, the creation of national identity."

This crystallization of a more differentiated Luther image may also be due to the relationship between the state and the Protestant Church. Despite occasional conflicts this relationship is generally quite relaxed. The Union of Protestant Churches in the GDR considers itself the "Church in socialism" and is well aware of its limited scope. It therefore avoids any direct confrontation with the state. This has lately been demonstrated in the discussions about the Christian peace movement in the GDR. In a letter to the newspapermen accredited in East Berlin, the directorate of the Protestant Church in Thuringia rejected any responsibility for the arrest on 24 December last of young Christians in Jena. The young people were arrested by the police when trying to keep a minute's silence for peace on Jena's market place.

Young Christians suffering from a crisis of conscience feel themselves increasingly deserted by their religious leaders. ~~Indeed they~~ allege that Church silence in the face of state repression of members of the peace movement amounts to sharing the guilt of the authorities.

Even though the Protestant Church's attitude to the state may have contributed to a more differentiated Luther image in the GDR, East Berlin church historian May says that "historical materialism" takes care of showing up "Luther's limits." Accordingly his inclusion in the GDR's national history must be subject to Marxist reservations. Only the future will show whether the state leaders are going to be successful in defining Marx and Luther as figures of national integration--in the interest of GDR national identity.

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CSO: 2300/139



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW CHAIRMAN ELECTED FOR SPORT AND TECHNOLOGY SOCIETY

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 1, Jan 83 pp 4-5

['GDR Mosaic' feature article: "GST Central Executive Committee Held Session: Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch Elected Chairman of Central Executive Committee of Society for Sport and Technology (GST)"]



[Text] At its second session, on 24 November 1982, the GST elected Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch chairman of the GST Central Executive Committee. Born into a working class family on 27 October 1930, Guenter Kutzschebauch learned the trade of agricultural assistant. Member of the workers class since 1947, he was an elected member and secretary of an FDJ kreis management (1948-1950). Obeying the working class party and the socialist youth association, he then enlisted in the GDR armed forces to help reliably secure the construction of socialism in the GDR and peace. After being trained as naval and political officer, he held various functions as a political worker in the NVA. He completed his military knowledge and skill at the USSR Naval Academy and then held various positions in the People's Navy as head of political organs.

After attending the CPSU Central Committee Party College in Moscow, Guenter Kutzschebauch in 1974 assumed the function as deputy chief of the People's Navy and chief of the Political Administration of the People's Navy.

Members of the GST Central Executive Committee held their second session of 1982 on 24 November. It was attended by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy minister for national defense, and chief of the Political Main Administration of the NVA.

The participants of the session drew up a trial balance-sheet on how GST members and functionaries have been implementing the Seventh Congress resolutions. In this context, Col Gen Heinz Kessler made, among other things, the following point: "We state with satisfaction that the members and functionaries of the GDR's defense organization have started purposefully and without delay to implement the Seventh GST Congress resolutions. We are certain the GST will fulfil the promise it gave at the Seventh GST Congress to the working class party and the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, to carry out the tasks assigned to it through high achievements in premilitary training and defense sports in honors and justify the confidence placed in it.

"The analysis of the 1981/82 GST training year has shown that you have fulfilled the tasks well, qualitatively and quantitatively. What matters now is to encourage further the communist education of the young generation and its determination and deeds in defense of socialism, and to stabilize and carry on the successful development under working class party leadership and through the proven cooperation with the FDJ, the comrades in the NVA and the other protective and security organs, and the comrades and friends in public and vocational training and the FDGB.

"Through the Seventh Congress in Cottbus you have entered a new phase in the development of your socialist defense organization. In the letter of salutation to the Seventh Congress on the occasion of the 30th GST anniversary, signed by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, the party executive expressed the great expectations placed on all your further activity and stressed the benefit of your work for securing peace and protecting socialism. That Central Committee letter, the Seventh GST Congress speech by Comrade Army General Heinz Hoffmann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister for national defense, and your own congress documents provide you with an excellent orientation for the solution of those tasks."

In the further course of his remarks, Col Gen Heinz Kessler emphasized how seriously peace continued to be threatened by the aggressive imperialist circles and NATO. The dangerous arms-buildup and confrontation policy of the imperialist warmongers demanded greater efforts than ever to strengthen socialism militarily as a prerequisite for the safeguarding of peace. By promoting a high defense readiness and capability among the GDR citizens and by skillfully preparing the future soldiers, NCO's and officers for their military service, the GST was taking care of an important and responsible task.

"It is necessary now," Col Gen Heinz Kessler asserted, "to familiarize all GST members and all youths taking part in premilitary training with the ongoing international processes of the class struggle and with the new problems resulting from the development in the FRG, and to help them assume always a class-conscious position in all matters. In this connection I consider it extremely important, in line with the orientation now before the GST Central Executive Committee, to have the GST actively support the FDJ-sponsored movement 'FDJ Peace Effort--My Deed for Our Socialist Fatherland.' If GST members and functionaries make the substantive objective of the FDJ peace effort their own business and, in conformity with the Seventh Congress resolutions, struggle resolutely for their implementation, they make an important contribution to educating steadfast fighters for our communist ideals, in accordance with the 10th SED Congress requirement, who are firmly linked with our socialist fatherland and determined and capable to reliably protect it militarily."

On behalf of the minister for national defense, Comrade Army General Heinz Hoffmann, at the end of his speech Col Gen Heinz Kessler proposed Comrade Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch as the new chairman of the GST Central Executive Committee. "Comrade Vice Admiral Kutzschebauch is an experienced party worker, proven communist and skilled military specialist," Col Gen Heinz Kessler said. "He has all the knowledge, abilities and experiences needed to be the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the GDR's socialist defense organization."

The members of the GST Central Executive Committee elected Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch into the GST Central Executive Committee and its secretariat, voting him in unanimously as the Central Executive Committee chairman. Vice Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch expressed thanks for the confidence place in him and promised to work as best he could in the responsible function assigned to him for continued success in GST work.

Thereafter, Col Rolf Pitschel, deputy chairman for special career training, submitted the GST Central Executive Committee secretariat report to the second session. It stated that the Seventh Congress resolutions had released various initiatives in the organization aimed at high effectiveness in defense policy training and education and at work proper in quality as to the distinctive training programs. The report to the second session focused on active GST participation in the FDJ peace effort. An appropriate Central Executive resolution confirmed that it is an honorable obligation for the GDR's socialist defense organization to contribute to the success of this important mass campaign by the young generation of our state.

5885

CSO: 2300/134

EAST BERLIN CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CATHOLICS (BK) REVIEWED

BK Chairman's Account

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 15 No 51, 1982 (signed to press 13 Dec 82)  
p 4

[Article by Otto Hartmut Fuchs, chairman, Presidium, (East) Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK): "Catholics for Partnership of All People Desiring Peace"]

[Text] At the end of this year of 1982 it is becoming more apparent every month: the arms escalation, dangerously promoted by the U.S. administration, is being faced with an escalation of forces for peace which is spreading in ever widening circles. Religiously motivated people on all continents are increasingly contributing to the growth of this quantitatively as well as qualitatively new global peace movement. The potentials becoming effective in this context were proven in an exemplary fashion at last May's Moscow world conference on the theme "Religious Representatives for Preserving the Holy Gift of Life From a Nuclear Catastrophe." A similar spirit, ethically and morally based on a sense of responsibility, prevailed at the Eighth General Assembly of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK), which took place in the GDR capital 17-19 November. It was characterized by the non-coincidental discussion theme "PAX HOMINIBUS (Peace Toward Men)--Gift and Task."

A Dialogue Transcending Borders and Generations

A cursory observation of this Catholic peace forum in the congress hall on Alexanderplatz provided a reminder of general assemblies of the past. But alone the geographic provenance of the participants, even more the considerable level of their participation, served to confirm the BK's growing stature as a movement. Thus, the 230 delegates from 25 European countries (among them two bishops, several high church officials and about one-third priests) encountered visitors from Australia, Haiti, Columbia, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria. Moscow's Deputy Patriarch, Archbishop Melchisedek, addressed the assembly in his capacity as an important voice of the Christian ecumenical movement. Apart from other religious communities and international organizations, the Asian Buddhist Peace Conference was represented for the first time.

The participants included such outstanding personalities as former Portuguese President Marshal Francisco da Costa Gomes; the president of Rome's Documentation Center of Democratic Catholics, Senator Professor Paolo Brezzi; the director of the Polemological Institute of the University of Groningen (Netherlands), Professor Dr Hylke W. Tromp; and Bremen (FRG) University's Chairman for International Law, Professor Dr Gerhard Stuby, who gave one of the three main addresses. Of particular significance for the BK was the presence, commensurate with their image of standing for a continuation of the "societally progressive and anti-fascist tradition of European Catholicism," of such revered elders as Abbe Clovis Lugon from Switzerland and Dr Josef Cornelius Rossaint, president of the West German VVN Federation of Anti-fascists. They stood shoulder to shoulder with many representatives of the younger generation. They came from such organizations as the Sicilian Anti-Nuclear Front or from the ranks of the British movement for promoting local resistance against proposed nuclear weapons bases. Their active participation provided the six working panels with the proper mix of theory and practical application.

#### The Times Require Determination and Action

In the overall picture, the Eighth General Assembly of the BK can therefore be considered to have been the widest possible spectrum to date of peace-motivated European Catholics. Despite controversial positions on some specific questions, caused by great variations in social and ecclesiastical living conditions, a broad common denominator was nevertheless reached in evaluating the situation and necessary action. This consensus became particularly apparent after the promulgation of the "Message to the Catholics of Europe," which was preceded by frank discussions and a positive vote by the over-whelming majority. Based on the straight-line continuity of its work for peace (which, significantly, had started exactly 18 years ago at the same location), the Berlin Conference elaborates the following principles therein: "If we speak of 'PAX HOMINIBUS,' let us not forget 'bonae voluntatis' ('of good will'), since we know this: today, a man of good will is primarily one who is committed to peace among men. Determination and action are required for peace on earth. Only in that way can we comply with 'shalom' ('peace'), one of the key concepts of Christ's message to the world."

But the attendees of the Eighth BK General Assembly were not content with just that theologically legitimate definition; they followed it up with an unambiguously clear peace-political statement of fact. Thus the "message" explains in view of the current situation: "The presently existing approximate balance of power between the two big military blocs would be destabilized by the deployment of new missile systems in Western Europe proposed for 1983 and would cause the other side to counterarm. To prevent a further arms escalation and to prevent Europe from being made into a battlefield for nuclear arms, the powers of peace firmly reject the reasons for danger: they reject the general arms build-up; the NATO missile decision; the production of neutron and chemical weapons as well as the Washington doctrine of a 'limited nuclear war' in Europe." At the same time, the Catholic peace forum finally expects constructive results from the negotiations in Geneva, Vienna and Madrid which would be useful to promote political and military detente. In this context, the BK resolutely advocated confidence-building measures in accordance with the final Helsinki

accords. Additionally, the "message" emphasizes the need for intellectual disarmament by doing away with unjustifiable threat estimates and by promoting a comprehensive indoctrination for peace as a contribution to international understanding.

#### Solidarity in the Battle Against the Danger of Nuclear War

The Eighth BK General Assembly supplemented such postulates by peaceful representatives of many different ideologies with some specific declared positions. One of those statements is of such import that it must be given here verbatim: "Many Catholics still labor under the historic weight of wrongheaded antagonisms against groups of differing ideological or philosophical views, and live in dread of contamination which created a particularly serious obstacle in working for peace. The repeated ecclesiastical call for cooperation with all men of good will also encompasses joint efforts with socialists and communists, if they are in favor of disarmament and detente, justice and peace, as we Christians are. Antisocialism and anticommunism, unbending, historically obsolete and today newly inspired by conservative forces, wrongly motivated on the basis of Christianity, weakens the joint efforts of all men of good will and thus impairs the prospects for peace; at the same time it leads to wrongful use of faith and church for political goals without ethical merit."

Inasmuch as the BK, in the spirit of Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in terris" ("Peace on Earth"), had never known fears of contamination from its allies and was always programmed for cooperation, it had no trouble to deal openly during the Eighth General Assembly with the dialectics between unity and specifics of the various forces for peace. In view of the attempts by politically reactionary circles in Western Europe to deter the peace movement from its main task--the battle against the threat of nuclear war--and eventually to divide it, Catholics from the East and the West emphatically swore allegiance in Berlin to unity among all lovers of peace. True, in a Catholic peace initiative like the BK, there would be inalienable criteria of faith and religious teaching, and thus individual motivations in political decisions. But such specific standpoints would not constitute a temptation to come up with a "united front position" or with "compromise," which some want to use to prove their credibility. In today's dramatic struggle for peace, in the battle for protecting the creation from degradation and annihilation, Christians are specifically subject to the "status confessionis" ("duty to avow their faith"), i.e., obligated to take a determined stance.

It was just this stance for the defense of life which motivated the Eighth General Assembly of the Catholic Peace Forum toward solidarity with all those working for the same objective. Thus the attendees addressed a letter to the chairman of the U.S. Conference of Bishops, in which they expressed their satisfaction over the pastoral letter entitled "The Challenge of Peace: The Lord's Promise and Our Answer" which took courageous exception to the arms buildup. In addition, the assembly unanimously voted for a Near East resolution. It dignified the meeting between Pope John Paul II and Yassir Arafat as a symbolic act and expressed to the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine the brotherly solidarity of the Catholics from 31 countries of several continents assembled in Berlin.

On the occasion of its Eighth General Assembly, the BK itself received evidence of solidarity from all over. Much recognition for its work for peace came in more than 60 letters of greeting from all parts of Europe--some of them from bishops and other church dignitaries. The Catholics were particularly grateful for a personal message from the chairman of the GDR council of state. In it, Erich Honecker gave expression to his conviction "that your conference will constitute an important contribution to the solution of the question of human existence and that it will generate new impulses for peace involvement by Christians and the churches." The GDR, he continued, would continue to support the BK in furthering its humanitarian and peace promoting objectives.

#### Presentation of Proceedings

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 23 No 1, Jan 83 pp 1-10

[Lead Article: Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics"]

[Text] Together--For Saving Humanity--Erich Honecker's Message and the BK Presidium's Reply. Chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker transmitted to the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK), which took place in the GDR capital 17-19 November 1982, a message of greetings which was answered with a letter from the BK Presidium. Both letters are reproduced herewith verbatim.

Gentlemen--On the occasion of the Eighth Meeting of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics I send my warm regards to you and all attendees. You have my best wishes for a successful outcome of your important reunion.

It is the GDR's highest objective to secure peace and to protect life on this earth from a nuclear catastrophe. This is all the more urgent since the peace has never been threatened as severely as now since the end of WWII. We feel linked to all men of good will, regardless of their ideology and religion, who are for detente and disarmament, especially against the deployment of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe. The implementation of this NATO plan would undermine the bases for detente, cooperation and trust among the peoples.

The GDR is deeply interested in any concrete steps leading to disarmament and contributes toward this goal. That is why we deeply appreciate the USSR's decision not to employ the first nuclear strike and support its initiatives for a ban on all nuclear weapons testing. We insist that Europe not be turned into a "Euroshima," but rather that it become a continent of peace, free of nuclear arms.

Even at its inception, the GDR declared that it would do everything in its power to make sure that war will never again start on German soil. This remains our commitment today as it has for more than three decades.



I am convinced that your conference will contribute importantly to the solution of the problem of human existence and that it will generate new impulses for the commitment to peace by Christians and the churches. The present situation particularly demands unified action and closed ranks on the part of all forces for peace, despite differing motivation for their respective objectives.

Please be assured that the GDR will continue to support the Berlin Conference of European Catholics in the realization of its humane, peace-oriented goals.  
--With expressions of highest esteem, Erich Honecker.

Honored Mr Chairman--We were most pleased to receive your greetings and wishes for success to the attendees of the Eighth Meeting of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK), which is currently taking place in the capital of the GDR. Please permit us to express our gratitude for this kind consideration.

Our all-European Catholic peace movement is aware of its great responsibility in the present dangerous international situation. Together with all other humanitarians, of whatever religion and ideology, we are dedicated to making an effective contribution to preserving humanity from possible nuclear destruction. Because we will not tolerate the degradation and destruction of God's creation by human hands, we especially resist the arms race, which threatens to escalate to ever more dangerous levels by the proposed deployment of new American missile systems in Western Europe. Our efforts on behalf of a halt to an arms buildup and for disarmament, especially for the removal of all weapons of mass destruction, are consistent with the will of the peoples as well as with the intentions of the Holy See.

We gratefully recognize the fact that the people and the government of the GDR give the highest political priority to securing peace through detente, cooperation and disarmament. We consider the announced goal of the GDR to do everything possible to prevent a war from ever starting again on German soil to be one of the most significant peace factors in Central Europe. We wish great success for all the efforts by the people and the government of the GDR in their struggle for a secure peace.

We assure you, Mr Chairman, that the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK), which was founded in the capital of the GDR and bears its name, will continue in the future in accordance with the resolutions of its Eighth Meeting to be fully committed to the highest interests of life of the peoples and that it will fight for peace and justice together with all men of good will. We sincerely appreciate the support we have received in this endeavor from the GDR.

To the people and the government of the GDR, and particularly to you, esteemed Mr Chairman, we wish prosperity and success. Permit us, Mr. Chairman, the expression of our deep respect.

The Presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics:

Otto Hartmut Fuchs, GDR, Chairman  
Provost Dr Imre Varkonyi, People's Republic of Hungary  
Canon Jan Mara, CSSR



George Bune Andersen, Denmark  
Prof Dr Viktoras Butkus, USSR  
Dr Yves Grenet, France  
Dr Wolfgang Kralewski, FRG  
Prof Dr Georges Thill, Belgium  
Witold Jankowski, People's Republic of Poland  
William Thomas Risby, Great Britain

Message to the Catholics of Europe: PAX HOMINIBUS--Gift and Task

## 1. The Situation

1.1. The Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK), founded in response to the encyclical "Pacem in terris" as a forum for peace, has from its very beginning been committed to detente, disarmament and security in Europe and the entire world. Exactly 18 years ago, the BK's founders' session demanded "the prohibition of nuclear arms, as well as total and supervised disarmament." This demand is more apropos today than ever before. In its "Dresden Manifesto," the Seventh BK General Assembly declared in 1980: "By the year 2000 we must succeed in putting a complete halt to the senseless arms race." This goal remains the same.

1.2. We are most disturbed about the growing threat to the life and peace of humanity. There has been a frightening increase in threats, injustices, violence, irresponsible treatment of natural resources and pollution of the environment. The continuing arms race especially is driving the world toward an apocalyptic nuclear war. The armament trade increases tensions. Europe is especially threatened with nuclear destruction in view of the preparations for deploying new missile systems in Western Europe and American concepts are openly planning for nuclear war on our continent, to include neutron and chemical weapons. There is great fear among the peoples of the weapons of mass destruction belonging to the United States, the USSR, France, Great Britain and the People's Republic of China. However, fear of the use of these weapons is today based especially upon the current U.S. administration's policy of superiority and confrontation. The powers of the military-industrial complex reinforce the militarization of economy and politics.

1.3. As a peace forum of European Catholics we had set high hopes on the "Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe." The final document issued in Helsinki in 1975 contained, for the first time in the history of European peoples, a formula for principles of coexistence of states with different societal systems. The CSCE final document emphasized the fact that there is no reasonable alternative to a policy of peaceful coexistence. Today we view with concern the fact that the political process of detente started in Helsinki is endangered, that the proposals detailed in the Helsinki accords for improving relations among the states have not been sufficiently implemented and that military detente has not yet come about.

1.4. In the present dangerous situation we have high hopes for the rapid growth of forces for peace all over the world. The conscience of many has been awakened. The desire for peace is increasingly converted to action for peace. In

Europe, such action is primarily directed against a missile buildup; it aims to break the arms escalation spiral and to force the politicians responsible for the arms race who intend to deploy new missile systems in Western Europe despite the unilateral Soviet moratorium (which renounces the installation of additional missiles for the duration of the Geneva talks) and despite the unilateral Soviet renouncing of the first-strike use of nuclear weapons, to take a course which leads to security and peace through an end to arming and disarmament. We see a hopeful sign in the fact that today the majority of public opinion in the United States is in favor of a nuclear freeze, as well as in the constantly intensifying involvement in peace activity by women and young people in all European countries. Action by the peace organizations increasingly involves Christians, and the BK too considers itself a part of this peace movement. Together we express the fear of the peoples that the process of detente, which had been started up with so much difficulty, could be destroyed and that the cold war could assume new and greater dimensions. Together we struggle for the goal of preventing European post-war politics from turning into a new pre-war politics, but rather to become a permanent politics of peace. Together we fight for the preservation of life from nuclear extinction.

## 2. The Gift

2.1. In his message for the 1982 Church Day of Peace, Pope John Paul II described peace as a gift which God has entrusted to man. This gift of God, he says, does not liberate man from the responsibility of working for peace. "God's gift of peace remains therefore an achievement and accomplishment of man." The Seventh BK General Assembly made a similar statement: "In accordance with God's will, justice and peace are the normal way of life of humanity. They become a gift of God, if man works for them." Thus working for peace is our obligation, whereby we understand peace to mean a process in which violence within states and between states is eliminated and structures of justice are erected.

2.2. As is every human being, a Christian is responsible to God and his fellow man. In his service for peace too, he needs a continuously renewed search of his conscience and rethinking, frequently too a change of course. Before we--aware of the shortcomings of many Christians--exhort others to prayer and action for peace and disarmament, we admit that we ourselves have failed to do enough: through indifference and cowardliness; through silence and insufficient readiness to act; through a lifestyle oriented toward consumption; through a lack of interest in keeping ourselves informed. We have been inadequate also by sometimes acting as though we could achieve peace through our own efforts, without a living connection to Christ, without the steady prayer for the gift of peace, which leads us to the proper action in conjunction with all men of good will.

2.3. In speaking of "pax hominibus," let us not forget "bonae voluntatis," since we know that whether a man is a man of good will is these days decided primarily by his readiness to work for peace among men. Both desire and action are required for peace on earth. Only in this way can we do justice to "shalom," one of the key concepts of Christ's message to the world. At the same time we believe that man's strong desire for peace is a manifestation of the Holy Ghost. It makes us realize that peace is not merely a matter of compulsion, but rather one of demand and desire.

2.4. To instigate and develop peace in all aspects of human coexistence is a part of the task of creation. As any other contribution to the perfection of the creation, working for peace too is impossible without sufficient knowledge of the world as it is offered to us by science. In this we must primarily rely on the insights provided by the social sciences, including peace research, since peace is not merely a matter of faith, but also one of reason which searches for the causes of lack of peace: "The whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart" (Jeremiah XII, 11), and: "If thou hadst known the things which belong unto thy peace!" (Luke XIX, 42).

2.5. Peace is possible because God gives it to us and because we are free to take it. Both of these facts make peace a moral obligation for Christians. Because this our gift can become an earthly reality only through man's desire and action. Especially at a time when God's gift is apparently being rejected by man, a Christian must remain aware of God's continued mercy and must at the same time urge the forces of peace-breaking to reverse course. Any Christian who furthers the cause of a potential nuclear world catastrophe is disregarding the will of God and is in need of the "Metanoete!", the brotherly admonition to turn back. To that extent Christian work for peace also becomes a brotherly service to politically erring people.

2.6. Christ's peace commandment is for human coexistence in love and justice, without the use of force. However, in regarding the world realistically, the Church has recognized situations in which there is justification for revolutionary wars of liberation (Populorum progressio, 31) and defensive wars (Vaticanum II, Gaudium et spes, 79) even in the era of nuclear armaments. However, the continually increasing destructive capabilities of these weapons today raise the question whether earlier criteria for "just wars" can still be used without restriction in international relations. Said Pope John Paul II in Coventry: "Peace today means that all wars, not only nuclear wars, are totally unacceptable." The peace ordained by God must be achieved in the struggle for a just peace. In that context we must remind of the statement contained in Vatican II, that we must respect the conscientious decision of those who refuse military service.

### 3. The Task

3.1. A war of weapons of mass destruction, like a war with conventional weapons, must be avoided. Inasmuch as the greatest danger of war arises from the escalation of nuclear arming in the context of renewed political tensions, the struggle of the forces for peace must primarily be waged for an end to arming and for disarmament, for political and military detente. Because nothing is more important than peace, and nothing has higher priority than disarmament.

3.2. Peace and the security of the people must no longer be based on a continuously increasing level of armament of the military blocs. The higher that level, the deeper the abyss into which the people fall! Thus it is mandatory for stabilizing the peace that the level of armaments not be further raised, but for the time being to freeze it and thereafter to reduce it gradually and effectively while preserving equal security for all states. The

balance of terror can be turned into a balance of trust, if the nuclear weapons especially could be drastically reduced and eventually prohibited.

3.3. The presently existing approximate balance of power between the two great military blocs would become destabilized as a result of the deployment of new missile systems in Western Europe announced for 1983 and would cause the other side to counterarm. To stop a further escalation in the arms race and to prevent Europe from becoming a battlefield for nuclear arms, the forces of peace take decided aim against the causes of these dangers: against the general arms escalation, against the NATO missile decision, against the production of neutron and chemical weapons, as well as against the Washington doctrine of a "limited nuclear war" in Europe. Many bishops and bishops' conferences as well as other Catholic dignitaries in the United States and in Europe have in the meantime warned against this, and movements like the proclamation of nuclear-free cities and communities are pursuing the same goal.

3.4. All international negotiations are of great significance--those taking place in Geneva, Vienna and Madrid--which are devoted to complex problems of security, disarmament and cooperation. It is an obligation of the forces for peace to urge the governments participating in the negotiations to enter constructive and fruitful agreements and to exhort them not to deviate from the agreed-upon subjects of the negotiations.

3.5. Security policy must primarily equal a policy of detente. However, detente presupposes a modicum of mutual trust. Trust can be primarily generated when political adversaries renounce contractually the use of force and develop their relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Thus a system of collective security is created which renders continued arming superfluous and disarmament possible. In parallel to this, efforts should be made to take trust-generating measures in areas which are suitable for eliminating distrust among people and states and to generate confidence, especially by implementing the items cited in part 3 of the Helsinki Accords.

3.6. There is a need for promoting education for peace and intellectual disarmament by doing away with unjustified representations of threat and enemy characteristics; the 1980 UNESCO Congress for Disarmament Education provided helpful guidance for that. Education is significant for doing away with prejudices and enemy images. Governments are enjoined to make their contributions toward understanding among peoples through energetic education for peace. Many Catholics are still laboring under the historic burden of wrongful antagonism against those of different religious or ideological convictions and live in fear of making contacts with them, which is a particular obstacle in the quest for peace. The repeated ecclesiastical call for cooperation with all men of good will also encompasses joint efforts with socialists and communists, if they are in favor of disarmament and detente, justice and peace, as we Christians are. Antisocialism and anticommunism, unbending, historically obsolete and today newly inspired by conservative forces, wrongly motivated on the basis of Christianity, weakens the joint efforts of all men of good will and thus impairs the prospects for peace; at the same time it leads to wrongful use of faith and church for political goals without ethical merit.

3.7. Peace is inseparable from justice; in fact, justice is an important prerequisite for peace: each depends upon the other. Social justice too benefits from peace. An arms buildup prevents state social programs and thus leads to social decay. Where economic and social policy form an entity it proves to be an element of peace policy.

3.8. Our struggle for disarmament, detente and peace in Europe simultaneously supports the fight of Third World people for their social and political liberation. Enormous intellectual forces and material resources which are presently being wasted on arms buildups could be usefully invested in the social and cultural development of these peoples. Our action against a further arms buildup therefore represents also an act of solidarity with the impoverished peoples.

#### 4. The Appeal

4.1. We Catholics from 25 European countries--differing in political and social convictions, but united in our faith in Jesus Christ and his gospel of peace--appeal to all members of our church in our part of the world:

Let us believe in peace, let us pray for peace on earth even more fervently and fight for it even harder! God's creation is in grave danger; human life is threatened with nuclear annihilation!

Let us provide additional strength to the forces of peace in their actions for a stop to arms buildups! The intended deployment of new missile systems in Western Europe and the production of neutron and chemical weapons are leading to the arms escalation to a nuclear holocaust!

Let us come out more than ever for the destruction of all nuclear weapons! If we human beings do not destroy them, they will destroy us!

Let us act to promote the return of a policy of detente! The escalation of the cold war is a disgrace to the human race and is a first step to hot war!

Let us, together with the forces for peace, demand the convocation of a European disarmament conference in the near future! Where two world wars have raged, there must not be a third!

Let us cement the unity of all forces for peace in their struggle for the most important things: disarmament, peace and justice! Political attempts to deter the peace movement from its main objective and to divide it are designed to support arms buildups and preparations for war!

Let us give a thought to the poor and deprived of the world! The cost of the arming madness in intellectual and material resources is spent to the detriment of the development of their status as human beings!

We know this: it is more difficult to wage peace than war. That is why peace requires our total devotion. Only in this way can we receive God's gift to us.

To the President of the U.S. Conference of Bishops:

Two hundred and fifty Catholics--priests and laymen--from 25 European countries and other parts of the world, currently engaged in discussing further actions for peace and disarmament at the Eighth General Assembly of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK) in the capital of the GDR, have taken great satisfaction from learning that the great majority of Catholic bishops in the United States has yesterday approved a draft of a pastoral letter on the dangers of the arms race at its annual meeting in Washington.

We agree with the majority of the North American bishops that a further arms buildup is not acceptable from a moral and political standpoint and that a first strike of nuclear weapons as well as the concept of a "limited" war with weapons of mass destruction must be condemned. We consider the solemn obligation of the USSR to renounce a nuclear first strike to be worthy of emulation by the U.S. government and by all other governments in possession of nuclear arms.

We wish to assure the U.S. bishops that we plan to increase the intensity of our struggle against the arms race and express our hope that many more conferences of bishops will be as outspoken in their opposition to the armament madness as the majority of the Conference of Bishops in the United States has been. Berlin, 19 November 1982.

Resolution on the Near East

The Eighth Meeting of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK) has high regard for the symbolic gesture by His Holiness Pope John Paul II, who received PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat in a private audience and recognizes therein a proof of recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

The meeting

appeals to the European Community and the U.S. Administration to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and to initiate a dialogue with it, so as to implement a process of humanitarian, just and politically enduring peace in the Near East;

considers it unacceptable for the State of Israel, the only state in the world founded by a UN decision, to persist in refusing to comply with all UN resolutions which deal with Palestine;

appeals to the international community to find measures and methods to enforce UN resolutions, especially those concerning Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories, concerning the return of Palestinian refugees who were forced to leave their homes, and concerning the Palestinian people's right for self-determination and sovereignty of its homeland;

makes common cause with Jerusalem's Christian patriarchs who are subject to the chicanery of the occupying power;

rejects the accusation of antisemitism made by Israeli propaganda against everyone--including Jews--who disapprove of the Israeli government's politics of aggression; and appeals to Catholics to reject a political interpretation of divine promise and preeminence, since the resurrected Christ has in his mystical host reunited all peoples, races and cultures.

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reemphasizes its solidarity with the Lebanese people, the victim of a murderous war and occupation, so that Lebanon may regain its full sovereignty and independence;

demands the departure of the Israeli army from Lebanese soil, as well as that of all other foreign troops whose presence has not been recognized as legitimate by the Lebanese government;

renews its solidarity with all Lebanese who are working for the rebuilding of their homeland as a unifier of its various communities.

#### From the Reports of the Six Working Groups

As reported in our issue No 12/82, the Eighth Meeting of the BK was continued in six working groups, following the general assembly on the morning of the first day of the meeting. In the final plenary session on the third day, representatives of the working groups gave reports on the results of their respective discussions. The following is a summary of those reports.

##### Working Group 1:

This working group dealt with the subject "Prophecy and Politics--Biblical promises of Peace and Christian Service for Peace." Its chairman was Provost Dr. Imre Varkonyi (Hungary); Moderator: Father Karl Derksen, OP (Netherlands); Secretary: Clemens Maerz (GDR).

The members agreed that Catholic Christians find themselves in the field of tension between prophecy and politics and that problems arise from the fact that prophecy is frequently understood only in an eschatological sense, whereas politics is gladly left in the care of professional politicians. The working group was convinced that prophecy is definitely connected to the present. It must search for causes and point to ways leading to justice and peace.

Some working group members were of the opinion that there is an obligation to create unrest in the sense of civil disobedience where this appears indicated, in accordance with the biblical quotation "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled?" (Luke XII, 49). However, total resistance was rejected in view of creationist theology. The arena for prophetic-political action, it was said, is a basic church for the poor. Prophetic activism cannot proceed without friction.



The working group was convinced that the arena for Christian activism is a secularized world which does not know how to deal with Christian terminology. In this world there is no specifically Christian guideline for the struggle for peace. But in any case, Christians must not focus on merely eschatological peace, and certainly not just on peace in the beyond.

Social conditions must be given consideration in the service of peace. It was stated repeatedly that the exchange of information must be improved. The BK had already made significant contributions to this.

One attendee from Syria pointed out that a danger exists with respect to a political interpretation of the bible in the sense of an Israel-oriented theology (the chosen people, etc.).

#### Working Group 2:

This working group dealt with the subject "Prayer and Action--From a Theology of a Just War to a Theology of Just Peace." Prof Dr Viktoras Butkus (USSR) served as chairman, Father Francois Biotop (France) as moderator and Dr Harald Schreiber (GDR) as secretary.

The working group discussed several aspects of the theme and arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Peace represents a political problem which is not solely nor directly capable of solution by biblical direction nor by prayer.
2. Adherence to the prophets of the Old Testament and the promises of peace in the New Testament is an indispensable component of Christian commitment to peace.
3. Peace has already been granted to us as a gift. It is up to us to accept it and to implement it within the community of man. However, the ultimate total implementation of peace on earth is closed to us.
4. Prayer and action are indivisible for Christians. Peace must be understood to be an entity which starts within the family and on the job and which ultimately includes peace among the peoples of the earth.
5. Prayer must be complemented with concrete political action. What is required is action to ensure the protection and security of life. Any war is a threat to the life of peoples and the individual.
6. The four criteria for just wars cited by St. Thomas Aquinas do not occur together these days. The Pope has stated on several occasions that any war--nuclear or conventional--is totally unacceptable. There can be no doubt that any war of aggression must be considered unjust and that injustice and oppression represent the seeds of new wars.
7. Christians must answer the question of whether peace can coexist with injustice.



8. A peace ethos must be developed, containing the following decisive points:

the courage to have faith;

the courage to find oneself misunderstood by others while working for peace;

prayer as encouragement and a source of new strength, as a continuing affirmation of hope;

education for a capacity for peace;

an attitude toward money and power oriented toward the guidelines of the Gospel;

rejection of any glorification of the military in individual thinking as well.

Several speakers appealed to the particular responsibility of scientists for an exclusively peaceful use of all research results. Other participants discussed various types of peace movements.

[The working group] declared that service in the cause of peace is an expression of "love thy neighbor" and that such service includes the effect of our example and the exemplary character of the way we talk and act.

#### Working Group 3:

This working Group dealt with the subject "Enhancement or Destruction of the Creation--Causes and Elimination of the Arms Race." Prof Dr Georges Thill (Belgium) acted as chairman; Dr Zbigniew Czajkowski (Poland) as moderator; and Prof Dr Walter Fuerst (GDR) as secretary.

To begin with, the working group agreed on the following:

All of humanity has one common task: to enhance God's creation.

The escalation of the arms race has a completely un-Christian basis.

A very different priority of values prevails in the capitalist and socialist societal systems.

International justice to date has represented the states' right to wage war as an expression of their true sovereignty. It must be replaced by the right of the peoples and the obligation of the states to wage peace.

No war can or must be justified on the basis of faith.

During the discussion the question was raised repeatedly what contribution Catholics could make toward protecting the holy gift of life from a nuclear catastrophe, as well as against an escalation of the arms race. Other questions concerned professions of faith for the purpose of downgrading enemy images.

The overwhelming majority agreed that the arms race could be stopped only through common efforts by all men of good will in the East and West. It was agreed further that military plans based on the possibility of winning a nuclear first strike constitute a great danger, and that all problems are capable of solution only through negotiation. Also, that a European disarmament conference was absolutely indispensable. The climate of mutual understanding could be improved considerably by renouncing a nuclear first strike, by recalling parts of the deployed armed forces, as well as by profiting from any measures designed to enhance mutual trust. The objective would remain of accomplishing peaceful coexistence in international relations and to continue on the road to cooperation.

There were some differences of opinion as to the applicability of Catholic social doctrine. The members of the working group described the right of free exercise of one's religion as a right belonging to all of humanity.

#### Working Group 4:

This working group dealt with the subject "Helsinki or Euroshima?--Detente Aspects in the CSCE Process." Witold Jankowski (Poland) was the chairman, Father Dr Claus Hebler (West Berlin) the moderator, and Karl Hiekisch (GDR) the secretary.

There was wide agreement on an analysis of the current situation on the European continent. The process of detente, initiated by the Helsinki Accords and other negotiations of the 1970's was described as constituting great hope for the people. However, that process unfortunately is in danger of breaking down at present and is endangered because there is more suspicion than trust, because the arms race has not been discontinued, and because the development of a fruitful cooperation is increasingly being impaired by boycotts and sanctions. No one disagreed with the fact that our continent is threatened with a nuclear inferno. Many speakers saw the causes of this threat in the policies of the Reagan administration, which encompass the thesis of the success of a nuclear first strike just as much as they do the NATO "counterarming" decision of Brussels.

All participants agreed that joint efforts are required by all concerned to spare Europe the fate of Hiroshima. This task was said to have top priority. The pastoral letter from the American bishops was emphatically welcomed, and the hope was expressed that a similarly clear expression of position would be forthcoming from the European Catholic bishops.

The discussion made it clear that it was desirable to continue working for the implementation of the Helsinki Accords as guiding principles. The working group spent considerable time discussing means of increasing mutual trust. They were considered to be mandatory to bring about increased detente; Catholics especially were said to find a particular challenge in this.

#### Working Group 5

This working group treated the subject "Anti-Communism--Anti-Americanism?--Aspects of Intellectual Disarmament." It was chaired by Canon Jan Mara (CSSR);

Senator Elia Lazzari (Italy) served as moderator and Eduard Bahsler (GDR) as secretary.

In discussing definitions, it became evident that "anti-Communism" and "anti-Americanism" [...]

...The discussion brought out the fact that one must be familiar with the societal system of communism before being able to discuss anticommunism. Trust, it was said, is always a prerequisite for a peaceful solution of all conflicts. There was full agreement with Thomas Mann's dictum that anticommunism is the basic stupidity of the century.

The concept of "anti-Americanism" was said to come from the vocabulary of conservative forces in Western European countries and to represent an attempt to slander the forces for peace of one's own country. The working group expressed support for the pastoral letter of the U.S. Conference of Bishops and rejected the policies of the Reagan government. It expressed high regard for the appeal for the prevention of nuclear war which scientists from the East and the West had handed to the Pope.

Intellectual disarmament was interpreted to mean information. It was stated that there is an urgent requirement to open humanity's eyes to what is going on in the world and to help it in clarifying "intellectual frontiers." The objective would be to help one's neighbor to increase the objectivity of his judgment.

#### Working Group 6:

This working group discussed the subject "The Fight for Peace--The Fight for Liberation. Our Solidarity in the Worldwide Struggle for Peace, Justice and Liberty." It was chaired by Dr Yves Grenet (France); Prof Dr Valdimir Benda (CSSR) served as moderator and Dr Hans-Joachim Zobel (GDR) as secretary. Catholics from eight non-European countries participated in this working group also.

Development and disarmament, it was stated, are closely linked. Peace, disarmament and social justice are part of a global concept.

There was extensive discussion about solidarity; it was said to be a form of love for one's neighbor and needed to be implemented initially in one's own country. Solidarity transcending state boundaries is being promoted by international organizations and supported by non-governmental organizations. Solidarity must not be based solely on ideology, but must make itself felt also in a material and financial way.

The working group dealt with the situation in the Near East, which could all too easily turn into an explosive mixture for setting off a new world war. About 11 million Christians live there, who also consider themselves Arabs. Israel was said to have already separated the Arabic Jews from the other Arabs and to be now attempting to split the Christian Arabs off from the other Arabs in order to establish religious borders. Especially in Lebanon a religious schism was

said to have prevented the development of a national self-confidence until now. The attendees demanded the immediate departure of Israel from Lebanon.

The problem of the Palestinians was discussed also. It was emphasized that it was unacceptable for Israel to refuse to comply with a UN decision despite the fact that the very existence of Israel itself was founded on such a decision.

The participants requested the Catholics to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their struggle for liberation. They were unanimous in expressing the hope that the Indian Ocean would become a peace zone.

As to South America, The working group stated that the people had never been independent in that area. The church, they maintain, had initially been a church of colonialism; at present, however, it is becoming the people's public conscience. The shining example of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was held up as an example of what a church is capable of achieving in the service of the people.

#### Religious Services in St Pius Church

On the evening of the first day of the meeting the attendees assembled in Berlin's St Pius parish church for a religious service. The Eucharist was celebrated jointly by Suffragan Bishops Valerians Zondaks from Riga (USSR), Endre Kovacs from Eger (Hungary), Vicar Dr Karel Jonas from Hradec Kralove (CSSR), as well as priests from France and Norway. Prof Dr Hendrik Bostoen from Belgium read the sermon. He noted that Christians are acting on the orders of Jesus if they commit themselves to peace. He specifically emphasized the fact that peace is always a gift and task currently. The peace promised by Jesus, he said, is initially an eschatological peace which has however already begun and which is turned into reality whenever men try to implement the gospel of peace. But inasmuch as peace on earth can never be total, we must always work for peace. In closing he reminded his listeners that Christians also substantially commit themselves to peace through prayer and participation in Holy Communion.

#### Youth Meeting at the Adlershof

About 30 youthful participants of the Eighth General Assembly met in the evening of the first day of the meeting in a youth club with young Catholics from the GDR's capital and other cities of our country for an open discussion about questions of peace and disarmament. The evening brought about the realization that there are different interpretations on questions of detail, but the Eastern and Western Catholics agree that securing the peace is at present the most important task.

Participants from the GDR emphasized that to them working for peace essentially consists of supporting the policies of our government, which are oriented toward the maintenance of peace. They emphasized further that even in the service of peace it was unfortunately not yet possible to do without arms. Peace, they said, is being furthered wherever a contribution is made to implement a policy

of peaceful coexistence. The young Catholics from the GDR expressed their joy over the fact that the peace movement in the Western European countries has gained great momentum as a result of the nuclear arms race.

The young people heartily welcomed a few attendees of the BK meeting from Lebanon and Haiti. The effects of the arms race on the developing countries was talked about several times. Several attendees emphasized the fact that the United States had considerably increased its support of Latin American dictatorships. In this context it was emphasized that the main controversy in the world is between capitalism and socialism.

The young people gratefully accepted news of the peace movements in France, in the FRG and in the Netherlands. In closing, it was emphasized that the service of peace always starts with specific social conditions.

#### Literary Discussion

Several attendees of the Eighth General Assembly met with representatives of the Union Verlag Berlin, the book publishers of the CDU, to gather information about Christian-oriented publishing activities in the GDR.

Editor Klaus-Peter Gerhardt first introduced the publishing house and its departments and characterized fiction and political and scientific literature as the cornerstones of the publishing house's activities. But he also indicated that the Union Verlag does not have or need a monopoly for Christian Literature in the GDR. Both of the big churches, he said, have their own publication facilities: the one for the Catholic church is the St Benno Verlag in Leipzig.

There was particular interest in the announcement that shortly there would be a publication containing materials from the BK's press conference of September 1981.

#### Womans' Meeting

Surjeet Kaur from India organized a womens' meeting on the first day of the meeting, in her capacity of representing the International Democratic Womens' Federation (IDFF). She reported on the initiatives by women in India and called for increased solidarity with all women and children of the world who are still living in oppression, hunger and poverty.

The women of the BK gave their approval to the IDFF's appeal for uniting all initiatives in a worldwide womens' campaign for peace and disarmament.

#### Excursions

On the afternoon of the second day of the meeting the attendees of the Eighth Meeting took advantage of the opportunity of participating in six excursions for sightseeing in the capital of the GDR and of visiting church facilities and agricultural production collectives in the districts of Potsdam and Frankfurt/Oder.

In Berlin they visited, among other sights, the St Hedwig Cathedral, the Dome and the Stephanus Foundation. They were impressed with the beauty and the compactness of the city's center. The trip also took them to the GDR's largest area of new construction, the Marzahn city district.

One of the excursions to Potsdam first took them to the fruit growing center of Werder. In the interorganizational facility of the Werder/Havel Hothouse cooperative the visitors expressed interest in the working and living conditions of the more than 1,000 workers. Then the ride continued to Potsdam. Stops were made at the Nikolai Church and the new construction area by the forest. Participants of the second Potsdam excursion stopped off at the agricultural producer cooperative Golzow, found out about life in the community and were impressed by the work of the Protestant Oberlin House Potsdam/Babelsberg, which promotes the rehabilitation of doubly handicapped children.

The Frankfurt/Oder district too was the destination of two excursions. Here too the participants learned about the production structure and work methods of an agricultural producer cooperative. Other stops were made at the concert hall of the district capital and the Catholic Maximilian Kolbe House. The delegates were impressed with the modern Protestant church center in Eisenhuettenstadt and with the Catholic pilgrimage church in Neuzelle.

All excursions included talks with representatives of the state and of the democratic public.

9273

CSO: 2300/131

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Czestochowa Province Plenum

Katowice TRIBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "PZPR Provincial Committee Plenary Session in Czestochowa. Health Care Needs Expanded and Integrated Action"]

[Text] Health care problems in Czestochowa Province were the subject of 26 November plenary session of Provincial Committee [KW] in Czestochowa, attended by an invited group of health service and social welfare employees. The session was chaired by comrade Wladyslaw Jagielski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the KW.

The debate centered on a "Report on the Status of Health Care in Czestochowa Province," prepared by Czestochowa's governor and preceded by an introductory speech by Provincial Committee Secretary comrade Henryk Jaderko.

The provincial party organization took a thoughtful and systematic approach to the problems of protecting health and environment. The 1981-83 operational program provides for measures expected to improve the current condition. Admittedly, there was no lack in providing inspiration for and checking the implementation of the health program. Since mid-1979 the KW Executive Board occupied itself with health care problems eleven times, and the KW secretariat, six times.

Execution of resolutions and motions did not always go according to expectations. It was adversely affected by the economic crisis and by resulting difficulties in supply and completion of investments. A case in point are administrative facilities taken over by health-care services in which deadlines for conversion work are being extended.

On the other hand, there are noticeable results in hiring medical professionals. During 1980-81, the province obtained an additional total of 128 physicians, 16 dentists, 21 pharmacists and 276 nurses. Although the province reached indicators higher than those adopted in its health care development program, those indicators still tend to spread apart from national levels.

Fifteen comrades took the floor during the discussion. They presented the views of health care and administration employees and signalled the afflictions of residents and workforces in matters involving health protection,

especially specialized treatment. The lack of health care facilities in Czestochowa's most recently built sections was sharply criticized. Appeals were made to the administration for more effective efforts to assure medical professional personnel for rural areas.

To conclude its nearly 10-hour long debate, the KW plenum adopted motions and approved a resolution with proposals including conversion of a construction enterprise into a specialized renovation firm for health care facilities, exploration of possibilities to fund stipends for students by gmina offices, and allocation of a portion of Agricultural Development Fund to farmers' medical needs to enable them to benefit from sanatorium therapy.

In his summary, the first secretary of the KW emphasized that health care is not merely an obligation of the state alone. The needs in this area call for broad support from society at large and for dedicated effort on the part of those in whose professional code concern with the health of other people has been inscribed.

#### Gdansk Province Party Aktivs

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 7 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mag): "Time and Conditions Dictate a new Style of Action! Provincial Party Aktiv Session in Gdansk"]

[Text] The PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Gdansk yesterday held a deliberative session for party aktivs from Gdansk Province to discuss tasks for party echelons during the period of suspended martial law. The session was attended by KW Executive Board members and representatives of provincial and city administration.

Presiding over the session, KW Secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski welcomed the participants and thanked them for their work in their communities wishing them success in the execution of 1983 party tasks. Due to the suspension of martial law and extraordinary legal regulation of the period, he said, the current year creates substantively new conditions for party work to the political, social and economic spheres.

Organizational assignments for basic party organizations for the next months were presented by Jerzy Pospieszynski, chief of the KW Organizational Department. While noting unquestioned advances in the stabilization of socio-political and economic situations during the past year, he pointed out the still-present danger of this process being hindered by the dissident underground. He identified the following directions in POPs' current in-party activities: measures taken to elevate ideological and political requirements imposed on party activists and party members in economic administration's managerial positions, consolidation of bonds between the echelons and basic organizations, broadened impact on nonparty communities and formation of a proper climate for reactivation of self-government bodies, regeneration of labor unions and establishment of Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] structures in plants.



KW Administrative Division chief Kazimierz Wisniewski said that PRON activities already extend to all administrative subunits of Gdansk province. At this time, there exist 12 urban, 7 gmina-urban and 32 gmina PRON structures. They are also operating in crucial industrial plants of the Tricity--the Paris Commune Shipyard, Lenin Gdansk Shipyard, Nauta Repair Shipyard, PKP [Polish State Railroads] Gdynia junction, and in the Gdynia Port Authority. Comrade Wisniewski also commented on the tasks of party members active in local administrative bodies, law enforcement bodies, and the judiciary, and in financial audit services reorganized under the 29 December 1982 law mandating fiscal boards.

KW Secretary Leon Brancewicz commented on regulations ensuing from the extraordinary legal status under suspended martial law. He especially noted the provisions regulating possibilities for reinstatement of employee self-government units and establishment of union organizations in enterprises. He also acquainted the participants with prospects for residential housing construction and consumer supply in 1983.

KW Propaganda Division deputy chief Edmund Matowski was the first to take the floor in the discussion. On the basis of the 9th Congress program resolution, he discussed party organizations' tasks with regard to cultural policy in the region. He emphasized the need for intensified party work to expand worker and rural communities' participation in culture and to aid cultural education of children and youth.

Current tasks of KW Center For Information, Analyses and Programming of Party Activity were presented by comrade Anna Szalach (chief of the center). Jerzy Tarasiewicz, KW ideological division chief, discussed the need to intensify training for party membership, drawing especially on the output of the Province's First Ideological Conference. Jan Dunst, chief of the KW division for farm and food economy, discussed issues related with the institution of agricultural self-government units based on the law of 9 October 1981, and Jozef Sarosiek, deputy chief of KW Organizational Division raised the problems of labor unions.

Debate was summed up by KW Secretary M. Chabowski, who declared that ongoing normalization of sociopolitical and economic situation marks out another stage in the activities of the province's party organization. The worst is behind us, he said, but the most difficult part is still ahead of us. Among the most urgent tasks, he listed the need to convince the largest possible segment of society that the goals included in the program of 9th Extraordinary Party Congress are correct, the taking of measures designed to strengthen the socialist state, elimination of the dissident underground and restoration of the party's bonds with the working class by means of specific decisions in the sphere of benefits and standard of living concerns, along with continuing improvement of formats for ideological and upbringing activities. In the process of formation of society's socialist consciousness, the speaker noted, upbringing in schools, postsecondary schools and creative communities has an especially significant impact. No less important, he said, was the establishment of a basis of widespread social support for the idea of national consensus, and for initiatives concerning the restoration of self-government and labor union organizations in enterprises.

At the conclusion of the session, M. Chabowski presented a timetable for current party activities in the course of the ongoing reporting campaign in Gdansk Province which is to terminate in a PZPR Provincial Reporting Conference planned for 5 February 1983.

#### Gdansk Executive Board Meeting

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZERZA in Polish 24 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (A. Met.): "PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Gdansk"]

[Text] PZPR KW Executive Board in Gdansk was in session last Saturday 22 January. The topics discussed during the session included the coming 19th Provincial Reporting Conference of the party. In this connection, the KW Executive Board evaluated and approved, allowing for corrections and additions submitted in the course of the debate, all materials prepared for the conference to be held 5 February 1983. Moreover, debate over these materials included consideration of the current status of preparations and the most urgent tasks needed for the proper progression of the conference. Special attention was paid to the conference's political and substantive quality in relation to current socioeconomic situation on the Gdansk Baltic coast.

Later, the KW Executive Board became acquainted with a report on performance under the PZPR KW operational plan for the fourth quarter of 1982. Information on proposed modifications in the PZPR KW roster and structure, related with the separation of a science and education vertical segment, was also accepted.

In an account of the implementation of KW Executive Board and Secretariat motions submitted during the 1981-82 term, it was affirmed that execution of tasks being monitored on an ongoing basis because the range of topics contained in the operational plan of the Executive Board, Secretary Team and KW plenary sessions closely mirrored the tasks dictated by timetables. It should be emphasized as well that at each plenary session KW members are informed about current operations of party echelons and about implementation of adopted resolutions and motions.

At the conclusion of the session, the KW Executive Board was notified about the process of formation of labor unions in Gdansk Province. As of 20 January more than 420 initiatory groups have emerged from among whom 182 founding committees have been winnowed. The Provincial Court in Gdansk received 152 petitions for registration of labor unions, among which 130 unions were granted legal status.

#### Gdynia Party Reports Conference

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZERZA in Polish 20 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Wlo): "PZPR Reporting Conference in Gdynia. Strong POPs  
[Basic party organizational components]—A Strong Party"]

[Text] A reporting conference of the urban party organization in Gdynia was in session yesterday. The organization currently numbers nearly 18,000 members and party candidates, including almost 52 percent workers.

As such, it is a component of major significance for the province's entire PZPR organization. Along with the delegates and invited guests, the session was attended by Stanislaw Bejger, KW PZPR first secretary in Gdansk, KW Secretary M. Chabowski, KW executive member Jerzy Andrzejewski, Navy deputy commander, Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, Gdansk Governor Mieczyslaw Cygan and Gdynia City President Jan Krzeczowski.

The session was opened by PZPR City Committee First Secretary Zygmunt Rosiak, who presented the City Committee report assessing socioeconomic situation in the city's party organization during the past period. The Executive Board focused for the most part on current day problems and on determination of the party's role as the city's leading force and organizer of political and social life in Gdansk. Especial emphasis in the Executive Board report was placed on the problems of maritime economy in Gdynia and on the role of POPs in that economy.

On behalf of the city Review Commission, Andrzej Matulewicz presented the commission's work, including a number of critical findings addressed to certain POPs. On behalf of the City Commission For Party Audits, Andrzej Szelejewski presented a report on the commission's activities containing many political assessments. The next speaker, Antoni Weglowski, member of PZPR KW Executive Board, submitted to the delegates an evaluation of PZPR Gdynia City Committee's work prepared by KW Executive Board. In an extensive statement containing elements of criticism, he pointed out certain crucial problems in the political activity of the city's party organization. Overall, it was a highly positive evaluation, confirming the city echelon's effectiveness and consistent operation during the period under analysis. The 1,000-member strong party aktiv concentrated around the city echelon constitutes a group of politically committed people, conscious of the objectives of their actions, and a visible proof of effectiveness of city committee's operations. Representing the PZPR KW Executive Board, A. Weglowski extended heartfelt greetings to the Gdynia comrades thanking them for their efforts to date, wishing them success in their future consistent implementation of 9th Congress resolutions.

Gdynia City President Jan Krzeczowski introduced the audience to the city's problems, its enormous needs, especially in the housing and public utility areas. Concurrently, he reported on the city authorities' measures intended to optimally utilize the city's potential for meeting Gdynia residents' social needs.

Subsequently, a discussion began, attended by 19 comrades, with 9 additional comrades entering their comments in the protocol because of the late hours. The following is a list of participants. Edmund Fiszer, party secretary at the Gdynia PKP [Polish State Railroad] junction station described the problems of his community, especially the difficult working conditions and inadequate supply of individual sanitary devices and protective clothing for railroad employees and, also, dragging investment projects.

Antoni Frelichowski from PBK commented on the inadequate level of development of municipal infrastructure in Gdynia.

Janusz Klosinski's statement was devoted to activities of the port party organization. He noted financial difficulties caused by currently effective regulations and capital depreciation of port fixed assets.

Wlodzimierz Zelechowski from Dalmor Deep-Sea Fishing Enterprise acquainted the delegates with Dalmor's problems. The enterprise significantly surpassed its planned tasks, obtaining a catch of 102,000 tons of fish. He stressed the need for rapid modernization of deep-sea fishing fleets.

Urszula Tomaszewska, PKP junction station in Gdynia, focused on the work and directions for further operation of the Central Review Commission, of which she is a member.

Bogumila Dutkowska from Społem Consumer Cooperative reported to the delegates on problems in Gdynia's commercial sector, in which she had been employed for 26 years. She criticized the incessant reorganization in the sector.

Wojciech Szykiewicz from "Komuna Paryska" Shipyard devoted his eloquent statement to accountability of individuals for work performed. He referred to reciprocal relations of administrative management and workers and concluded by saying that if the party's fundamental link, the POP, is strong, the party at large will be strong.

Kazimierz Krefta from the Nauta Shipyard described the attitudes of shipyard workers to numerous problems the country is coping with. "We are able to build a major plant, but we are unable to keep the Gdynia station clean," he asserted.

Teresa Wieczorek referred to health care problems in Gdynia. She also presented her reflections on performance as PZPR City Committee member.

Roman Kuglarczyk from the Military Marine Shipyard offered a number of critical comments on the results of implementation of the economic reform and price policies. He emphasized that society at large is becoming impoverished while a small group of people are making money capitalizing on the crisis.

Andrzej Derengowski from PLO [Polish Ocean Shipping Lines] spoke about party work in his enterprise and on certain problems related with implementation of the economic reform.

Janusz Wydra MO [Citizens' Militia] chief in Gdynia presented an extensive report with numerous examples concerning the level of security in town and describing the militia's efforts to effect further improvements.

Kazimierz Kozlowski described a range of problems concerning the situation of veterans of worker movements and of the struggle for national liberation.

Danuta Seweryn, first secretary of the School System Community Committee, reported on current situation in the community, problems and concerns encountered by educators executing their tasks.

Andrzej Gadziomski, deputy chairman of ZSMP city board reported on the condition of the organization in Gdynia, nearly 12,000-member strong, and on its plans concerning such vital problems as residential construction.

Kajetan Kaminski from Energoblok [Enterprise--expansion unknown] spoke about construction problems, including collaboration with design offices.

Julian Ochman's statement was devoted to working conditions of territorial self-government bodies in the city and their problems.

Andrzej Swiatczak, commandant of ZHP [Polish Scout Union] troop, referred to scouting activities and difficulties in his organization's work, especially those encountered in schools.

Franciszek Lubinski presented party work problems among construction employees, along with the difficulties encountered by enterprises operating under new economic conditions.

Concluding the deliberations, Stanislaw Bejger took the floor. He took a position on many problems raised during the debate and outlined the tasks now facing the entire Gdynia party organization. PZPR KW's first secretary gave high marks to the organization's efforts to date, emphasizing the need for further actions aimed at assuring total cohesion of party ranks and party discipline. He responded to some of the statements made during the debate.

In behalf of the commission Jerzy Murzynowski submitted to the participants a draft resolution containing guidelines for further work of the PZPR city organization in Gdynia. Following the debate, the resolution was adopted.

8795

CSO: 2600/359

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES

Lublin Board on Reports Conference

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (sna): "From the Meetings of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR. In Lublin: Preparations to the Provincial Reports Conference of PZPR"]

[Text] (From our own correspondent) The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR, meeting yesterday in Lublin, discussed the issues involved in the opening preparations for the Provincial Reports Conference of PZPR, as well as the tasks of higher and basic party organizations in the conditions of suspension of the martial law.

The Reports Conference of the Lublin Provincial Party Organization will take place in the first days of next February. On the basis of the conclusions, resolutions, and recommendations presented during the course of the first and second stages of the current reports campaign in the party, and taking into account the new social, political, and economic situation, delegates of the conference are expected to approve a new program of activities.

During the course of yesterday's meeting, the draft report to be presented at the provincial conference was discussed. In making its profound and substantial evaluation, the members of the Executive Board made a number of comments and new suggestions to be included in the final version of the document.

The Executive Board also discussed and adopted for practical implementation a document detailing the tasks of higher-level and basic party organizations in connection with the suspension of martial law. In particular, emphasis is laid on the need for strengthening and consolidating direct, permanent contacts of party organizations with the working people in all communities, as well as for undertaking common efforts towards national reconciliation and implementation.

## Lublin Board on Party Organization

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by (chrom): "From the Activities of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Lublin: The Miners' Party Organizations Have Done Their Job"]

[Text] The current meeting of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Lublin was not held in the building of the Provincial Committee; instead, the delegates met on the premises of the Bogdancia Coal Mines. The field trip sessions of the Executive Board provided the Board an opportunity to become acquainted with the specifics of the miners' work, as well as with the activities of local party organizations.

Before the beginning of the session, which was attended also by members of the Executive Board of the Enterprise Committee of PZPR of KLZW [Lublin Coal Basin Mines] and the Mining Works Enterprise (PRG), as well as the secretaries of workshop party organizations, the visitors were invited to see the mines. Down in the mines, at the levels of 922 and 960 m, the guests were shown the process of coal extraction, work at the face and operations involved in development of the mine.

The members of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee thus started their discussions equipped with a knowledge of the realities of miners' work. Although the main subject of discussion was the functioning of the party organizations at KLZW and PRG, economic and social problems were also considered.

In debates on party problems, attention was focused on the evaluation of the most difficult period in the party's life, which began in 1980. Both the KLZW organization, which currently numbers 11 basic organizations and 300 members, and the factory committee of the Mining Works Enterprise (357 members in nine basic organizations), succeeded in passing through that troubled period without losing the people's trust in the party. "Great efforts have been invested," emphasized at the end of the session the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Wieslaw Skrzydlo, "to recruit supporters for the party program and to instill trust in it. This is bearing its fruit in the growth of party ranks that can be observed even today, particularly at KLZW." Obviously, this is not to say that the restoration of the party's authority among the miners does not meet with difficulties. The issue was raised in a speech by the secretary of a workshop organization from Nadrybie, who said: "It is true that the people don't say no, but on the other hand, you don't hear yes from them. This is a kind of attitude that can scarcely be described as acceptance."

The participants spoke with particular concern about the problems facing young people. Almost each of the speakers mentioned the lack of active involvement on the part of young people, and regrettably, this attitude is

frequently also adopted by youth organizations. The issue was given primary importance in the draft resolution. Strengthening ideological and educational work and increasing the active involvement of young people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the mine personnel, were recognized as the most important tasks for future party work and for bringing into effect the tasks undertaken today.

#### Nowy Sacz Meeting on Tasks

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 30 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kazimierz Strachanowski: "Plenary Session of the Provincial Committee of PZPR in Nowy Sacz: Dependable Work and Careful Management as Conditions for Emerging From the Crisis."]

[Text] (From our own correspondent) Outlining the tasks of the provincial party organizations in solving the social and economic problems was the subject discussed yesterday at the plenary session of the Provincial Committee of PZPR at Nowy Sacz. The session was attended by the secretary of the Central Committee of PZPR, Manfred Gorywoda.

The discussions that were chaired by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee of PZPR, Josef Brozek, were permeated by the idea strongly emphasized in the documents of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of PZPR--namely, that the only way for pulling the nation out of the current social and economic crisis is by restoring the effectiveness of labor and management in all spheres of life.

After 11 months of 1982, a cause for optimism in the Nowy Sacz region, as noted at the conference, is given by the fact that the industrial enterprises in the area have scored major advances. In November the value of gross sales of industrial products was 19 percent higher than in November 1981. Unfortunately, as much as one quarter of the enterprises still fall short of fulfilling the plan, with the underproduction compared to the target amounting to 1.5 billion zlotys. That would not be too bad, according to the speakers, if the causes of the situation were objective. Some of the Nowy Sacz enterprises, however, have used loopholes in the economic reform to inflate their financial output figures by raising their prices.

The province cannot afford a situation where every day almost 5,000 workers fail to come to work because of medical reasons. The participants emphasized that it is high time for industrial organizations to start treating seriously their work policies and work out the problems of health care. It should not be used to benefit the work shirkers who transform health care service into a sort of "paid unemployment."

The speakers cited with appreciation enterprises such as the Nowy Sacz Coal Electric Power Station or Railroad Repair Works, which undertake economic initiatives that allow to cut down on the import of products.



The existing situation in housing construction was subjected to criticism. Construction enterprises are ending the year with only 70 percent of the plan fulfilled. The causes of the weakness, as was pointed out at the conference, include organizational stereotypes of the building enterprises, waste of materials, lack of creativity in development of appropriate technologies, and poor organizational work. Housing construction remains the top priority among the region's social and economic problems. According to the plan drawn up for 1983-90, 16,200 housing units are to be built. This is a difficult task, but it is based on realistic estimates.

Manfred Gorywoda spoke during the course of the discussion about the social and economic situation in the nation and the party tasks following the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee.

The Plenum passed a resolution outlining the tasks and directions of work for the provincial party organization in solving the social and economic problems of the region.

#### Opole Board on Sociopolitical Situation

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (p): "From the Session of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR"]

[Text] At yesterday's session, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR made an evaluation of the current sociopolitical situation in the province. Among other things, it was emphasized that the holidays and the last days of the year had run smoothly. Efforts for securing an adequate supply of sausage and other food items for the holidays have produced a positive effect. Vivid discussions are still going on about the trade unions, workers' self-government, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and the economic reform. In January the elections at basic trade union organizations will begin, and it will be the appropriate time for normalization of the situation in our nation. In many communities, ever more frequently voices are heard confirming the positive tendencies in the economy. There are also fears and doubts, especially as regards the issues of price structuring.

The Executive Board also approved a draft of the report to be presented at the coming Plenary Session of the Provincial Committee that will be concerned with the reports contained in basic and higher party organizations.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee approved the plans for activities for the first six months of the year for TRYBUNA OPOLSKA and the Polish Radio Station at Opole. It recommended to both editorial boards to focus attention on the issues of the economic reform and emergence from the crisis. The need was stressed for reporting and promoting local initiatives and innovations directed at overcoming the difficulties in industry, housing construction, implementation of steps for technical and organizational progress, reduction of material and energy costs, and improved labor

productivity. One should also support initiatives that may help resolve the housing problem in individual communities. The media should pay more attention to highlighting the activities of the trade unions, workers' self-government, PRON and People's Councils. A special effort should be made to fight by journalistic means all kinds of socially pathological phenomena, and for propagating the knowledge of public laws. This should include not only reporting these phenomena, but also the consequences borne by those responsible for them.

#### Opole Board on Economic Tasks

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Wl. Kos.: "From the Meetings of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR: Evaluation of the Socioeconomic Situation, Problems of Environmental Protection. Implementation of the Economic Tasks by Farmers' Self-Aid."]

[Text] At its session yesterday, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee evaluated the current sociopolitical and economic situation in the province and the nation and outlined against this background the assignments for basic and higher-level party organizations. The problems of environmental protection in the Opole Province were considered on the basis of the materials presented by the Department for Environmental Protection, Geology and Water Management of the province government; the implementation of economic tasks by the Farmers' Self-Aid as to trade in rural communities and agricultural services in 1982 were discussed on the basis of materials presented by the Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives [WZSR] in Opole.

In reference to these materials, reports were presented by the respective departments of the Provincial Committee of PZPR: the Social-Economic Department, and the Social-Agricultural Department. The meeting was attended by the deputy chief of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee of PZPR, Piotr Stecko.

As regards the problems of environment protection, the following four issues were brought into focus: surface water protection, atmospheric air protection, waste disposal and utilization, and noise prevention.

The Executive Board stated that the following measures would be necessary in view of the present assessment of the situation: measures to retain substantial improvement of the purity of surface waters, primarily at the mouth of the Nysa Kłodzka River, whose water is used for urban water supply; restriction and eventual reduction of the degree of water pollution near Kedzierzyno-Kozło, Zdziechowice, Opole and Strzelcy Opolskie by means of maintaining in full operation the existing air protection installations, modernizing the obsolete equipment and installing new antipollution plants; in particular, in the most affected area of Kedzierzyno-Kozło, no new factories that could result in an increase of toxic gas and fuel emissions should be built; raising the degree of economic utilization on a large scale of the industrial waste

in production of technologically adequate waste disposal and elimination of unauthorized dumping by increasing the number of official dumping sites and consistently penalizing unauthorized disposal; construction of a railroad side-track to serve the Opole electric power plant.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee recommended to regional mass media to be more concerned with issues of environmental protection.

The agricultural cooperative Farmers' Self-Aid, by using a diversified network of outlets, provides services to 50 percent of the rural population in the province, or 170,000 households, which account for 58 percent of the total households in the Opole region. The activities of the cooperative encompass an area with 73,300 private farms. Services to the population and farmers are assisted by a constant modernization of the material and technical base, encompassing 2,017 stores, 412 food factories, 195 production enterprises and 456 service enterprises. After a capital investment of a total value of 470 million zlotys, 75 different service objects were placed in operation in 1982. The cooperative owns 57 percent of the total number of collectively-owned stores operating in the province. Eighteen percent of all food on the market comes from the production enterprises of district cooperatives. District cooperatives purchase 56 percent of the grain and 51 percent of the livestock in the area. By the scale of its activities, the Farmers' Self-Aid Cooperative holds first place in the nation. The performance of the economic tasks by the farmers' cooperative in the past year took place under extremely complicated conditions. Primarily, this concerns trade. An objective evaluation of this activity must consider that the trading enterprises, operating in conditions of substantial excess of demand over supply, took pains to ease the difficulties experienced by the Opole Province population in doing their shopping. The Farmers' Self-Aid has successfully fulfilled the economic assignments for 1982 in terms of the basic indicators, as measured in kind and in value. Some of the targets were not met, particularly in groceries and in purchase of grain and potatoes. The difficult situation persisted in village markets, and many commodities were in short supply. Of the 25 basic food products, only five items registered a certain improvement of supply. Despite the improved supplies of mineral fertilizer and some building materials (particularly cement and lime, machines and fuel), major shortages are still felt, especially of small farming tools and materials such as roofing felt and tiles. There are also keen shortages of batteries, tires, harrows, plows, coal fodder steamers and four-pronged forks. Supplies of fabrics and cottage industry articles were low. It was acknowledged with appreciation that, owing to the initiative and efforts of traders, goods of a total value exceeding 1 billion zlotys have been procured in addition to the planned items, which greatly offset the deficiencies in supplies to rural areas. Coal supplies to these areas in 1982 were better than in preceding years, although the amounts to which farmers were entitled were still not completely delivered. During the past year, there were 34 personnel changes in the positions of district cooperative chairmen and deputy chairmen. These changes occurred as a result of auditing by the Armed Forces Inspection, the Supreme Inspection Chamber, as well as negative references by political and administrative authorities of the districts.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee approved the main trends of future activity for the Farmers' Self-Aid Agricultural Cooperative in our province, which will be concerned with: activities towards intensification of agricultural production and improved forms of services to farmers; better organization and labor discipline in the trade and service network; further development and modernization of the material and technical base; and skillful implementation of the principles and mechanisms of the economic reform.

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CSO: 2600/362

PRZEMYSŁ PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Evaluation of Enterprises

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mn): "From the Deliberations of the PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board and the Provincial Democratic Party Provincial Committee in Przemysl"]

[Text] (From our own source) Assessment of state administration, cooperative movement and craft guild measures taken to help increase the share of the crafts and small businesses in supplying the Przemysl province market was the topic of the 29 November joint session of PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board and Democratic Party (SD) Provincial Committee in Przemysl. By invitation, the sessions taking place in the Clothing and Outfitting Combined Plant were attended by a broad spectrum of persons representing central-level entities, interprovince entities and provincial entities, including management members from cooperative establishments and from the handicraft community. The session was preceded by on-site inspections of 15 craft establishments and cooperatives in Przemysl and Jaroslaw, conducted by teams appointed by the PZPR Provincial Committee and SD Provincial Committee which also analyzed the level of implementation of the [Przemysl] Provincial People's Council's resolution and development programs for this economic sector in the Przemysl province. Comments and suggestions were included in a presentation of the position of the PZPR Provincial Committee Socioeconomic Department's Commission For Economic and Agricultural Policy, and SD Provincial Committee Social Commission and Economic Department.

The material presented at the session unarguably demonstrates that many of the ventures, planned and programmed beforehand and aimed at providing increasingly supportive conditions for the development of the crafts and small manufacturing businesses, have not been completed. Many undertakings have remained on paper because of numerous factors, including the altered economic conditions, although factors of a subjective nature have also been involved. It was not at all places that good will, commitment and energy have been applied in sufficient amounts.

In the session's evaluations of the effects of measures taken in hopes of increasing the small scale industry and crafts' share in supplying the Przemysl province market it has been affirmed that those measures as yet

did not produce desired results. Too small a portion of production reaches the local market, while high transport costs to frequently remote locations unfavorably affect economic relations. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the significance of local commodity exchange markets, a factor creating mutual dependence between producers and traders. This form, unfortunately, has until recently been underestimated to the detriment of both parties, and to the detriment of local market supply at the same time.

The debate repeatedly focused on the role of state administration bodies in coordinating activities needed to overcome supply barriers, initiation of exchange markets, acquisition of certain types of machinery and equipment from key industries to meet the needs of the crafts, and handling of investment problems. Small scale manufacturing businesses should be offered stable and lasting prospects. This also applies to the crafts which--according to the statement--should have a modified tax system favoring the development of output and services. Province-level administration should demonstrate greater vigor and commitment in directing growth in small-scale manufacture and in providing a suitable climate and conditions for its development. It is necessary to analyze in detail the directions for small-scale manufacture and crafts sales, and subsequently to take action to assist the province market to the fullest extent possible.

The Provincial Committee Executive Board and the SD Provincial Committee Presidium issued instructions that by the end of the third quarter of 1983 guidelines be developed for an updated realistic and comprehensive provincial program covering the development of small-scale manufacture and the crafts. After consultations and approval, the program should become a basis for state, administration, cooperatives and the crafts to operate and supervise. Furthermore, it was found advisable to devote a joint PZPR Provincial Committee and SD Provincial Committee plenary session to these important problems in the first semester of 1983.

#### Implementation of Proposals

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 14 Dec 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by (mn): "Follow-Up on Suggestions From PZPR Provincial Committee Executive Board Debate in Przemysl"]

[Text] In tackling in its session yesterday another test topic the PZPR Executive Board in Przemysl evaluated the status of implementation of motions formulated last March at a plenary meeting of the board devoted to key problems in the development of food production through 1985. In this case the board's analysis focused on the level of implementation of 44 motions concerning farm produce production and processing. A perceptive and substantive report on this issue was presented to the Executive Board by the Przemysl governor.

According to the report, much attention has been devoted to maximum reduction of raw material losses in all agricultural production, processing and turnover entities, e. g., owing to organizational and technological

measures taken in the District Grain and Milling Industry enterprise in Jaroslaw the coefficients of raw materials loss during grain milling were lower in Jaroslaw than the national average. The Przemysl Pomona enterprise purchased 7,000 tons of apples during 1982 putting its productive capacities to maximum use in order to make the most of an abundance of apples. Further, more than 2,000 tons of apples were not allowed to go to waste thanks to 4 distilleries that were immediately put into operation.

The Przemyśl province continues to develop its procurement and storage support base, along with fruit and vegetable processing. Gardening cooperatives are handling construction of 3 fruit and vegetable storage facilities in Zurawica (completion expected in 1983), a potato storage facility in Radymno (1984), a fruit-and-vegetable processing plant and a cucumber and cabbage pickling plant in Kanczuga (1984). In 1982, the WSOP [Provincial Cooperative of Fruit and Plant Growers?] expanded its procurement network by adding six seasonal purchasing establishments of its own.

When assessing the level of implementation of the motions the Provincial Executive Board appreciatively underscored major commitment to have those motions put in effect exhibited by the Governor's Office by local bodies of state administration and by the management of respective economic units.

It was noted at the same time that implementation of postplenary motions was varied, and that further advances in this area would depend on the nation's economic situation domestically, which, in the main, is a reference to the extent of investment activity and supply of capital goods. Allowing for these conditions, the Provincial Committee Executive Board is of the opinion that gardening and bee-keeping cooperatives and "Peasants' Self-Help" units should intensify efforts aimed at complete fulfillment of their storage and processing development tasks, primarily, by adhering to completion deadlines for planned investment projects. Moreover, it was found expedient for the technical-economic council on farming and food economy, the Przemyśl governor's advisory and consultative body, to handle periodic reviews of performance concerning suggestions that resulted from the March plenary session of the Province Committee.

Subsequently during its de ate the PZPR Executive Board heard a report on progress actions taken in connection with the Polish People's Republic legislation on labor unions. As follows from an examination of this report, approximately 70 founding committees and nearly 200 initiating groups are currently operating in various work establishments and institutions of Przemyśl province. Up to now, legal status has been acquired by 24 plant-based labor union organizations, including those operating at Jarlan Knitwear Goods Plant, Plyty Fiberboard Plant and Pollena-Astra Household Chemical Products Plant and in educational and upbringing institutions.

## Party Echelon, Organizational Output

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 5 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mn): "PZPR Provincial Committee Plenary Meeting in Przemyśl. Midterm Summary of Achievement of Party Echelons and Organizational Components"]

[Text] A reporting campaign has been concluded in the party's basic and divisional and in gmina organizational components, combined gmina-urban and urban party echelons in Przemyśl province. In the course of the several-month-long campaign perceptive evaluations were made of current levels of implementation of action programs adopted during 1981 electoral and reporting conferences and meetings. At the same time, addenda were adopted to complement the programs for the second half of party authorities' current term.

Preparations are well under way for a provincial PZPR reporting conference to be held in the fourth week of January. The Provincial Committee's report which will be submitted to the delegates has been reviewed and approved at a plenary session of the committee held 4 January in Przemyśl. First Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee Zenon Czech presided over the debate.

Reporting material presented to and approved by Provincial Committee members sums up the Przemyśl party organization's achievement in executing its tasks, included in an operational program adopted in June 1981 at the Fourth Provincial Electoral and Reporting Conference, subsequently augmented with the tasks issuing from the resolutions of 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The report also contains an assessment of measures taken by the Provincial Committee and its subordinate party components in connection with the imposition of martial law, along with a political evaluation of socioeconomic activity to date (a detailed report on performance of key economic tasks was submitted to the delegates as a separate document by Przemyśl governor).

Key points of the report, developed among the masses of activists, pertain to the fulfillment of tasks intended to consolidate leninist standards in party life, in the party's internal work, in ideological indoctrination and improvement of information flow, in law enforcement, public order and social discipline, and in the accomplishment of party tasks in socioeconomic sphere.

Having examined and commented on the presented material, the Provincial Committee approved a report accounting for the Przemyśl party organization's activity from July 1981 through December 1982. In a resolution it adopted, the plenary meeting mandated all party components to prepare detailed schedules and to assure implementation of resolutions and motions adopted by the party's reporting conferences and meetings.



In a reference to the approaching provincial reporting conference, First Secretary Provincial Committee Zenon Czech said that the conference would become a significant event in the life of the Przemysl organization, now having 19,769 members and candidates in its 869 basic party organizations and 160 divisional party organizations. Accordingly, universal participation of party membership in preparations for the January conference is of great importance. The past year, he said, was a period of consolidation for the provincial organization's internal consistency and ideological cohesion. Secretary Czech thanked all those who helped integrate the party ranks.

Yesterday, in the final section of the debate at its plenary session, the eighth in this term, the Przemysl Provincial Committee made changes in its composition, removing Zbigniew Grandys, former director-in-chief of Jaroslaw Glass Works, from his position as Provincial Committee member. In a secret ballot, the following deputy members were elected committee members: Piotr Cielecki, director of Agricultural Circles' Cooperative in Zurawica, Kazimierz Kowal, railroad electrician from a detached electric traction sector in Radymno, Eugeniusz Pasterski, director of Economic-Administrative Pool for schools in Przeworsk and Wladyslaw Pruchnicki, a teacher from Zarzecze. Moreover, during an organizational portion of yesterday's meeting the participants were informed about the loss of provincial committee member status by Wladyslaw Kostrzycki, state farm employee in Nowe Siolo who had been dropped from the party membership list by his original party unit.

#### Secretary Zenon Czech Interview

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with comrade Zenon Czech, PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary in Przemysl Supported by Facts by Mieczyslaw Nyczek: "Between the Sessions. Sincerity of Intent"]

[Text] [Question] As newly elected first secretary of the KW [Provincial Committee], you admitted a year and a half ago in an interview for NOWINY that the province's party organization was not in the best condition, despite certain signs of stabilization. "I believe, in fact, I am convinced, that the situation will clear up, it must clear up; people will realize on their own that we all should get it all together, as the saying goes." Did these hopes and expectations come true?

[Answer] To give you a short answer, we have made the turn, it seems. And we are heading for the stretch.

[Question] But with substantially depleted ranks. After all, 4,500 members and candidates are no longer there. To what extent did this affect the condition of the provincial party organization?

[Answer] We are not in isolation, so that nationwide trends are reflected in our organization as well. I would rather steer clear of the occasionally repeated simplifications according to which those who left the party had

become members by accident or had regarded their party ID's as a shortcut to promotion or extra benefits. Motives for leaving the party at a time of profound crisis and, in many cases, under strong psychological pressures, were quite varied. This is not to say that I am excusing those people who parted with us.

The process was substantially halted in 1982. Those who were then leaving the party simply did not meet the terms which PZPR specified at the 7th CC Plenum, and which we did in turn at the KW plenary session last January 1982. Quitting the party at that time was nothing but the result of individual self-determination in a situation where party criteria had been very clearly marked out. In this case the party itself began to get rid of ideologically alien individuals whose attitudes contradicted those criteria. This process has not been terminated.

The departure of so many people undoubtedly affected both the condition of the provincial organization and the mindset of remaining comrades, which is certainly easy to understand.

It also needs to be said, however, that those who have stayed, especially in production plants, are people with a feel for the party, people who understand the party's intent and approach task accomplishment with a sense of responsibility. This conclusion is supported by the course of meetings and reporting conferences held in all components of our organization in recent months. That campaign was marked by self-focused determination of tasks and by basic past components identifying themselves with the major undertakings being launched in the country, of course, scaling those down to a plant, gmina or city. There is an expanding appreciation of ideological activity, especially with regard to the essence and mechanism of political struggle.

Many good things could be said about the aktyw, the essential group of party members and a decisive factor of its strength. Let me stress, in particular, the part played by the most experienced and tried section of the aktyw who provided support to insufficiently experienced party functionaries, especially those in the field, during the most difficult periods.

[Question] In the course of the previous reporting and electoral campaign widespread demands were made to alter party functionaries' style of operation. The KW report to the 4th Conference also critically asserted that full-time party functionaries in many cases were doing the job of elective bodies and adopting unsuitable formulas for inspiring party echelons and organizations. Delegates to the June conference let it be clearly known that it would be well to let some "fresh air" into certain office rooms and to revamp, thoroughly, the functionary corps on provincial and other levels.

[Answer] Such voices were heard not only in our province. We strive to draw proper conclusions from critical evaluations in order to develop other operational practices, considerably different from the earlier ones. Previously, the party bureaucracy tended to assume the role of an arbiter office which sapped the initiative, energy and independence of those other party members employed in state and economic administration.

Replacement of a segment of party functionary corps proved to be an indispensable personnel measure. The point was not to replace some people by others for the sake of substitution alone. Since June 1981, approximately 60 percent of party personnel in the provincial echelon and in the field have been replaced. This large number of replacements certainly has its drawbacks along with advantages.

The important point, however, is that the party's organizational components influence personnel placement. Each candidate must have a recommendation from his original party organization. KW division chiefs must, in their turn, obtain approval of the provincial committee which, as an elective body, makes decisions about staffing those positions and, in consequence, bears a moral responsibility for its decisions. No single KW division chief has been in his position any longer than since the last party conference.

[Question] There are new chiefs, and some new divisions, too.

[Answer] That is correct. There have also been changes in the KW structure including a renaming of its division. For instance, the Farm and Food Economy Division no longer exists. In its place, there is a Socioagricultural Division.

[Question] Changing the label?

[Answer] Not only the label. The change in the name also reflects a change in the perception of the division's role.

[Question] In the past, as I remember from personal experience, a visit of KW secretary used to be an extraordinary event in work establishments.

[Answer] Which is normal these days. KW secretaries, political officers of the party apparatus and first secretaries of party committees visit work establishments as frequently as they can these days. During 1981-82 the provincial echelon leadership went out to be among the people, among rank and file membership, more frequently than during the entire preceding period.

[Question] Does this apply as well to contacts with organizations operating in rural communities?

[Answer] Unfortunately, only to a certain degree. I must admit that in the period in question we used to devote more time and more personal involvement to contacts with plant workforces. Personally, I feel a need for more frequent meetings with comrades from rural communities. The proportions must become more balanced.

[Question] Does your time allow for frequent contact with party components in the field?

[Answer] Participation of KW secretaries in plenary sessions of basic echelons is now the rule. We often participate in POP meetings. KW political functionaries daily spend time out in the field. The fact that each of them is a member in a basic party organization in some plant, institution or community is not without significance.

Increasingly, the results of the echelons' work are decided by contributions from social volunteer factor. In my opinion, the most substantive achievement in this area is the activity of certain KW commissions and problem-task teams, along with the establishment of fairly numerous groups of social instructors as adjuncts to the provincial and lower echelons. They are recruited for the most part, from experienced, in many cases retired members, but there is no lack of younger persons in whom we see a cadre reserve. I could offer many more examples of the new ways in the party.

[Question] The Provincial Reporting Conference will be held in a few days. The delegates are expecting that the KW will provide an account of implementation of the program adopted in 1981 not only in the party's inner ideological sphere but also in the socioeconomic area. Briefly, what is the situation of this issue?

[Answer] The party authorities are only at midterm point, which is too short a period to total their achievements and determine what, in specific terms, has been done among the things that were planned. Most important, even for a moment we--I am referring to the party and administration in the province--have not departed from the directions staked out at the previous conference. Yet we formulated them at a time of great uncertainty, unable, after all, to assume that we were to face more than 170 turbulent days of 1981 that inexorably culminated in the imposition of martial law.

We were aware that implementation of what was to form part of the program would primarily depend on the party, on the party's consistent actions and on the degree to which it would perform its leadership role.

At the time, we regarded the supplying of province residents with basic foodstuffs and other articles as the most important matter. Anyone would have to admit now that a noticeable improvement has been achieved in this area, though still falling short of needs. Store lines have not disappeared from our urban landscapes yet, but basic needs are being satisfied. We do not limit ourselves to central distribution and allotment lists, counting as well on our own local potential to enrich market supply.

The second major topic--food economy--has been "orchestrated" during the KW plenary session last March. We explicitly said then that it was the last debate about the program. Carrying it out is the word for now.

Apartments are the third priority. Construction results of the past year speak for themselves. For the first time in our province, a new apartment completion plan has been fulfilled. Future prospects appear, on the whole, to be generally good, e.g., railroad workers' housing needs will be met to a significant degree in the nearest years.

Progress is also noted in educational facilities. For several months now, children have been at work studying in a newly built fine school on Lukasinski Street in Przemyśl. Visiting Zapalow or Jawornik, one no longer hears the

question-cum-request which used to be boilerplate: "When will a school be built?" A session of the Provincial People's Council adopted a wide and realistic program undertaking to improve the conditions for education and upbringing. Shortcomings are still widespread, which can provoke a sense of inadequacy. Let us not forget, however, about hard facts: the crisis is not just raging far away, bypassing Przemysl province.

If I mentioned improvement in health care, saying that is in better shape, too, and that we have something to be pleased with, people would be unlikely to believe it, especially in Przemysl where health care problems are particularly acute. I will, therefore, resort to facts.

Przeworsk with its adjoining district received a 300-bed hospital. Hospital facilities are being expanded in Jaroslaw where a district outpatient clinic was recently completed in the veterans' residential development. Railroad workers in Przemysl district will soon receive an outpatient clinic the equal of which would be hard to find. Construction of two outpatient clinics was begun last year in Lubaczow. The number of rural health centers has increased. Emergency aid wards in Jaroslaw and Przemysl now enjoy better working conditions. Construction of a provincial hospital in Przemysl is currently of primary importance. Although it is impossible to promise today that this facility will be completed in a few years, I can provide assurances that this issue is of profound concern not only for provincial authorities alone. That is why I feel confident.

[Question] Your statement resonates with optimism.

[Answer] Optimism is a standard feature--for preconference interviews. I intend to offer no pledges or promises, because we know that there are many deficiencies and unpredictables. Words and promises tended to get ahead of facts in the past. Society used to trust them. Now, facts alone can blaze the trail for the authorities' sincere intentions to become believable. Those facts are jointly created with active participation of the province's working class and entire society. It depends on a nationwide willingness to share in the creation of that which is new--not only in the material sphere--whether the chance we are facing will be used to advantage.

[Answer] Thank you for this interview.

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CSO: 2600/347

WARSAW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Plenum on Young Generation Behavior

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 26-27-28 Nov 82 pp 1, 11

/Article by (ch): "Plenum of the PZPR Warsaw Committee on the Education of the Younger Generation"

/Text/ It is an old truth that nations will be as good as the education of their youth. The subject of yesterday's plenary session of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR was the education of school-age youth. The proceedings were chaired by Marian Wozniak, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Warsaw Committee. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, also participated in them, along with many party activists from the schools.

A modern school is a reflection of the state of society. Various influences cross in it that are not entirely in harmony with the contents of socialist education. A young man is not educated just by the school, however, but also by his family, his environment, and finally, by everyday reality. A child notices adults' contemptuous attitude toward their obligations. When he finishes school and crosses through the factory gate, will he be a good worker?

There is a shortage of schools and preschools in the capital, Warsaw Voivodship, especially in new housing developments. The statistics are relentless. In Ursynowka, to put it briefly, there are 23.3 children for every opening in a preschool.

Thousands of children from the outlying housing developments are transported to the schools in the middle of the city. The multiple teaching shifts rule out any afterschool activities. There is no one to build educational facilities, as was noted with alarm during the discussion. There is no crowding in the older housing developments, which were built in a comprehensive manner, with all of the necessary infrastructure.

The discussion was not confined to complaints. The participants gave consideration to what should be done to keep the crisis from having a negative effect on the education and upbringing of the younger generation. The foundation for all activity is obviously the teacher. Cadre policy in education must therefore be

close to the heart of city authorities. The teacher has to remember that he is a state employee in a socialist school. The party members have a major role to play here. A specific example here is worth more than a thousand words. A teacher -- a good professional and citizen -- has to be willing to conduct a frank dialogue with youth, as well as discussions with younger colleagues, which are now more necessary than ever before. The last few years, however, have shown that not all educational workers have been able to cope with these tasks.

It has been said for many years that the less capable people are choosing pedagogical studies. The question of whether the new Teachers' Charter, which has been binding for several months, will succeed in attracting young, ambitious, and capable people to the schools was also considered in the discussion. There were also critical voices. First of all, the compensation system is too complicated. In addition to this, a teaching couple with a pair of children still cannot make ends meet. In the smaller cities, we should return to the good tradition of building residences for teachers together with the schools. In the opinion of the discussants, the system for training teachers also requires continuing modification. It should be more flexible. If there is a shortage of preschool and primary education teachers, new cadres should be trained. Through all of this, one must not lose sight of demographic predictions.

A detailed resolution -- the result of yesterday's plenary discussion -- applies to all schools.

#### Plenum on Industrial Improvement

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 20 Dec 82 p 7

/Article by (si-ws): "Closer to Social Needs and Capabilities"/

/Text/ The attention of the participants in Friday's plenary meeting of the Warsaw party organization was concentrated on two basic problems. The first dealt with the tasks of the capital organization associated with implementing as effectively as possible the resolutions from the Tenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The other was an assessment of the targets of the draft socioeconomic plan for the voivodship for the years 1983-1985.

In both the report and the discussion, a significant place was given to the role of the party environment in creating a political climate favoring increased activity by working people. Productive concern and initiatives associated with it have a real share in surmounting the effects of the crisis and constructing a basis for economic stabilization.

It was emphasized during the proceedings that there are still too many barriers of various kinds that limit boldness and effectiveness of action. These include bureaucratic encumbrances, incompetence, a dislike for innovative actions, etc.

A party organization is not called upon to replace or relieve the administration of a plant, or the local authorities. On the other hand, it cannot be left out when formulating social and political goals, either at the level of labor institutions or with respect to a city, commune, or voivodship.



It is necessary for party bodies to reanalyze everything done to date on increasing agricultural production, utilizing industrial capabilities, carrying out residential and commercial construction, and utilizing the achievements of science and technology. An important matter is assessing the progress of implementing the reform mechanisms, analyzing product prices, and fighting speculation.

It was stated during the meeting that the decline in industrial production has been halted. November was the third month in a row in which there was an increase in industrial production. For 11 months, the value of the products destined for the domestic market and for export amounted to 433.3 billion zlotys. Several enterprises will not be able to complete this year's plans; such of the output, however, will turn out to be better than in 1981.

The results in residential construction, on the other hand, are disturbing. Barely 56 percent of the tasks planned for this period have been completed. The completion of subsidiary construction projects is at a similar level, although it is twice as high as in the first 11 months of last year.

The unfavorable situation in residential construction is mainly a result of the material supply, meeting barely half of the needs, and of the perceptible decline in employment at construction sites. A system of incentive wages has been instituted, with good results, at some enterprises (including KIS /expansion unknown/ and PRI /Engineering Works Enterprise/), in order to counteract desertions from the construction sites and avoid a decline in labor productivity.

The problem of residential and subsidiary construction, as well as the problem of equipping the sites, came up again with the report by the deputy mayor, who presented a three-year draft plan for our voivodship.

The participants in the discussion spoke very critically of some of the plan's formulations. Among others, Zygmunt Kaczynski, the president of SZSBM /expansion unknown/, stated that the declining trend in housing construction was unacceptable. Other speakers emphasized that one cannot keep talking about the decline of construction. Construction must also be subject to the mechanisms of the economic reform, and act in such a way as to meet society's expectations.

Many other problems associated with the functioning of the capital area were mentioned. Among other things, they have to do with achieving equilibrium in the sphere of space management in various regions of the voivodship, and the development of the communal, industrial, and service infrastructure. A partial adjustment of these imbalances will be made by the draft three-year plan.

In the resolution adopted by the plenum, we can read, among other things, that in spite of the difficult socioeconomic situation and the unfavorable external conditions for our economy, there has been obvious progress in overcoming the effects of the crisis.



In the opinion of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR, we need rapid activity to overcome the surprises to enterprises resulting from the changes in economic mechanisms.

The principles of cost-effectiveness must be observed in every economic activity or administrative decision.

In further work on the targets of the draft three-year plan, its proposals should be more adapted to the socially justified needs of the city's residents.

It is necessary to consider the proposal for convening an auxiliary consultative body under the Warsaw People's Council when adopting socioeconomic decisions.

The proceedings were chaired by Marian Wozniak, a member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and the first secretary of the Warsaw Committee. Also participating in them were member of the Politburo Albin Siwak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Manfred Gorywod, and representatives of the city's political and administrative authorities.

#### Marian Wozniak's Warsaw Comments

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 17 Jan 83 pp 1, 7

/Interview with Marian Wozniak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, and first secretary of the Warsaw Committee, by Jadwiga Wiecek: "Warsaw Is a Symbol of Rebirth and Development"/

/Text/ On the anniversary of Warsaw's liberation from the German occupation, we are publishing an interview with Marian Wozniak, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and the first secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR, on the subject of the prospects for the further development of the capital and of the present ideological and moral state of the capital's party organization, which is among the foremost in the country in terms of size, and more specifically, of its social and professional composition.

/Question/ The National People's Council adopted a resolution on rebuilding Warsaw on 3 January 1945, after the city was freed. The war was still going on. The last German bomber attack against Warsaw was on 7 March 1945. On that same day, a representative of the Bureau for the Reconstruction of the Capital reported to the Provisional Government on the goals in restoring the city. From the perspective of years, was this resolution, which so surprised the foreigners struck by the extent of the destruction of Warsaw, a romantic impulse, or rather a positivistic calculation?

/Answer/ The decision to rebuild Warsaw came from romantics acting with a positivistic consistency. This is a rare combination in our history, but it was fully successful. We can be proud of it. In all probability, one can say that everything that has been created in the course of 38 years and the

programs for the socioeconomic and spatial development of the capital that have been carried out are faithful to the original postwar concept that was outlined in incredibly difficult conditions, when among the devastation and the ruins there was evidence to support a belief that Warsaw could be revived, and that it could become a living city. Western specialist, economists and city planners, assured the Poles that it would take at least 100 years to rebuild Warsaw. The ancient city had been leveled. A layer of 77 million square meters of rubble covered the former streets and squares. Almost all factories and industrial workshops had been devastated, and only a little of the technical infrastructure had escaped.

Could the work of reconstruction have been undertaken under those conditions by a sober realist, without a dose of romantic "feeling and faith"? I doubt it. I also doubt whether this work could have been carried out by an idly declaiming romantic. Warsaw shows that what we need is both traditions of thought, under the condition of tremendous joint work, discipline, persistence, patience, and consistency.

/Question/ Bowing their heads before the work of reconstruction, many Poles, especially young ones, wonder whether it would not have been better to aim at building an entirely new city on the location of the historical Warsaw...

/Answer/ In announcing the reconstruction, in contrast to the proverbial "plowing of the ruins of Warsaw," and agreeing on rebuilding the 600-year-old structures instead of erecting complexes of modern buildings in their place, we were respecting the feelings of the Polish people, for whom, at that time, the existence of Warsaw in a form as close as possible to the one they remembered was a confirmation of our victory over fascism, the rebirth of Poland and its independent statehood. This activity was necessary for the sake of the psychological condition of the people, since the extent of the bloodshed had destroyed their hopes and taken away the meaning of values that had been accepted for a long time. It was also a question of allowing the citizens of Warsaw, after their tragic experiences during the war, to see in the rebuilt capital the same city, even if it had changed a great deal, but not completely different...

/Question/ But as a result of this, life in Warsaw began with wandering around in the rubble. Even today the capital bears the unsurmounted burden of the difficult pioneering years.

/Answer/ At that time, life was difficult for all Poles. The situation in postwar Poland cannot be compared to the present one, even though such inappropriate allusions are used in demagogic discussions. Also remote are the parallels between the dead Warsaw of 1945 and the capital struggling in 1983 with the problems of a living urban organism: mass transportation, housing, and the shortage of schools. It is at any rate worth remembering that the outlays for the rebuilding of Warsaw, which were made just after the war in the situation of a completely destroyed country, were a painful and sometimes drastic expenditure. At present, during the crisis, the state has adopted a decision on building a subway in Warsaw, since the conditions for travelling

around the city have become unbearable. This is obviously associated with a great burden on the budget. It is nevertheless a consistent proof of the attitude of the party and state authorities toward Warsaw -- a city that for centuries will arouse patriotic feelings, the cradle of the Polish revolutionary movement, and the main historical scene of the popular uprisings and class struggles of the last 200 years...

/Question/ Someone recently asked in a malicious article whether Warsaw is profitable.

/Answer/ Looked at just from the material point of view, it is a solvent debtor. For a long time now, as the second industrial center in Poland, it has paid enormous amounts invested in its reconstruction and construction. There is no way to calculate in zlotys Warsaw's moral stature, and its significance as a center of Polish culture and scientific-technical thought

/Question/ Finally, a question about the state of the Warsaw organization of the PZPR, which has rendered undeniable services in the work of development.

/Answer/ This problem can be examined from both quantitative and qualitative sides. The number of party members in the capital has declined by 14 percent, although this decrease has been lower in our voivodship than anywhere else. The decline in membership was a consequence of the weakening of the PZPR's position, in the view of both the party members themselves, and of people who do not belong to the party. Today, the Warsaw party organization contains within its ranks 155,000 members and candidates, of which 24 percent are workers, and half are intellectual workers. Beginning in August 1982, we have noted a marked curtailment in the flow of workers out of the party. The same thing is happening in other areas, however. Last year a gradual influx of new candidates began to occur. We admitted 500 people, and this was at the most difficult moment, when their joining was an act of courage and determination in choosing to be in the socialist camp. I want to emphasize that I am opposed to all mass "recruiting" into the ranks of the PZPR. We will never see this phenomenon anymore in the Warsaw party organization. We need a party that is not so much numerous, as wise. Strength without understanding is blind.

It is a characteristic phenomenon that everywhere that the activities of a political opponent or enemy of socialism and the party has been unusually intense and evident, the organization has emerged from its struggle strengthened and consolidated, in spite of the decline in its membership. We can see this, for example, in the Ursus factory organizations or the Warsaw Steelworks.

Thus, in the life of the PZPR as well as the entire society in the capital, M. Wozniak stated in conclusion, there is a pronounced division between people guided by realism and political understanding, and people following primarily emotions instead of arguments. Unless they are self-declared enemies, we will persuade them, naturally, provided that General Jaruzelski's concise statement that "the party is the same, but not just the same" will not be a slogan, but rather a widely understood moral and ideological goal.

CHELM PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Plenary Session on Party Echelons

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 1 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (sna): "Plenary Session of Chelm Voivodship Party Echelon"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] / (Own information). Organizational matters and tasks of party echelons and organizations were the topic of discussion at yesterday's plenum of the KW PZPR [Voivodship Committee of the Polish United Workers Party] in Chelm in which the secretary of the CC [Central Committee] PZPR, Waldemar Swirgon, and the manager of the CC Cadre Division, Brigadier General Tadeusz Dziekan, participated. Also present was the vice-chairman of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] National Board, Kazimierz Janik./

During the course of deliberations chaired by the secretary of the KW PZPR, Piotr Sobieski, the secretary of CC PZPR, Waldemar Swirgon, informed plenum members that the CC Politburo had accepted the resignation of comrade Juliusz Kropnicki from the post of first secretary of the party Voivodship Committee in Chelm.

The resignation reads as follows: "I would like to request the acceptance of my resignation from the duties of first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Chelm. My request stems from the worsening state of my health and required long-term treatment which does not allow me to manage the party organization. At the same time, I wish to assure the party leadership that I will try to participate actively in party and social life to the extent made possible by my health."

The CC secretary added that following treatment, comrade Juliusz Kropnicki will be employed in further professional work commensurate with his qualifications and experience.

It should also be pointed out that the KW PZPR Executive Board in Chelm accepted J. Kropnicki's request. In addition, during the course of consultations that were held in connection with this matter in regional centers of party activity in Chelm, Krasnystaw and Wlodawa, Voivodship Committee members approached J. Kropnicki's request and the KW Executive Board's stand with understanding and approval.

The KW PZPR plenum accepted the resignation submitted by J. Kropnicki in an open vote. /At the same time, the plenum expressed its sincere and warm thanks for his generous work up to that point and wished him much happiness in his private life./

/Next, the CC PZPR secretary, Waldemar Swirgon stated that following consultations in regional centers of party activity in the Chelm voivodship, at which time various candidacies were considered, the CC PZPR Politburo made the decision to recommend Jerzy Szukala to the post of first secretary of KW PZPR; until that time he had been assistant manager of the CC Bureau for Sejm-related matters./

Other candidates had not been nominated. Jerzy Szukala was elected by secret ballot with 70 votes (out of 75 persons authorized to vote) as a member of KW and as first secretary of the KW PZPR in Chelm. In taking the floor he expressed thanks to the KW PZPR membership for their vote of confidence in him and to /his predecessor for the difficult and responsible work which he had fulfilled./

/In the organizational part of the program, the plenum of the KW PZPR accepted the proposal of the Voivodship Committee's Executive Board regarding the setting up of a KW Education and Information Section and entrusting the duties of manager/ of this section to Jerzy Adamczyk who until that point had been the assistant manager of KW's Propaganda Section. The plan of KW and Executive Board plenary sessions in the fourth quarter of this year [1982] was also ratified as was the draft plan of the bylaws of the PZPR Regional Committee for Education and Upbringing in Chelm.

#### Investment Needs

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23 Dec 82 p.2

[Article by (Piek): "Investment, Socio-Living and Cadre Needs of Education in Chelm"]

[Text] /(Own information). At yesterday's session, the Executive Board of KW PZPR in Chelm made an analysis of the investment, socio-living and cadre needs of education./ [in boldface]

The demographic situation in the Chelm Voivodship is characterized by a significant increase in the number of school-age and preschool age children, which directly affected an increase in the number of tasks in the area of education and upbringing. The rate of building construction

for educational purposes, which does not keep pace with the needs, intensifies with each coming year and space and cadre problems of educational establishments in rural areas as well as in cities. A report on the state of education in the Chelm Voivodship, which was recently presented at a session of WRN [Voivodship People's Council], reveals dramatically the existing needs and neglect. This particularly concerns schooling in rural areas, housing needs and the cadre situation in education. The insufficient educational building base is, among other things, the result of a lack of the capacity to carry out construction by building enterprises. During the period of the intensive building of "millenium memorial schools", they were often built in areas where the needs did not at all justify the building of large schools. In turn, together with the decision to establish gmina collective schools, the all investment decisions were left under the auspices of the central authorities, which resulted in gmina collective schools as yet not being organized in the Chelm Voivodship even though the character of this voivodship highly corresponds to the concept of collective schools. This is simply the outcome of a lower or very low population density.

The difficult situation of the Chelm educational system is aggravated by serious cadre shortages. However, these will be impossible to eliminate without essential progress in housing construction for the needs of teachers, especially in rural areas. It is estimated that until the end of 1983, there will be a need to build approximately 916 apartments.

During the deliberations of the Executive Board, much attention was devoted to looking for ways of increasing the processing capacity of the construction industry for the needs of education. The shortcomings in the area of educational facilities in the Chelm Voivodship are not, however, the result of a shortage of investment funds, at least in recent years, but a result of difficulty in finding contractors for this type of work. In connection with this, ways of overcoming regression in this area were considered, by among other things, converting the overhaul-construction plant of the School Superintendant's Office [Kuratorium] for Education and Training into an enterprise which in practice would mean greater prerogatives and production capabilities. Attention was also called to the necessity of inspiring and properly handling the concept of social action in education. It is felt, moreover, that work establishments have considerable possibilities of improving the building space base of educational-upbringing establishments.

In the adopted proposals, the KW PZPR Executive Board committed the first secretary of the KW PZPR and the Chelm governor to organize a meeting in January 1983 with the minister of construction and construction materials industry, for the purpose of considering increasing the production capacity of construction enterprises in the Chelm Voivodship. These same persons were entrusted with acquainting the minister of education and upbringing with the state of the educational base in the Chelm Voivodship.

In the second stage of deliberations, an assessment was carried out of the current situation in agriculture and the directions in which to proceed for the activation of production and procurement as well as improving schooling-advisory activity. Organizational matters were also looked into, including material for the upcoming plenary session of KW PZPR and the work plan for the KW Executive Board for the first half of next year [1983].

#### Plenum on Observing the Statute

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 29 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (piek.): "Observing the Statute--Condition for Consolidation"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(Own information). The Voivodship Committee of PZPR gathered yesterday in Chelm at its plenary session. The deliberations chaired by the first secretary of KW PZPR, Jerzy Szukala, were devoted to defining the tasks of party echelons and organizations within the scope of strengthening unity and cohesion among party ranks. Ryszard Czerwinski, assistant manager of the Organizational Section of CC PZPR participated in the deliberations./

The Executive Board's report presented by the secretary of KW PZPR, /Piotr Sobiecki/, continued the most important data which describe the sociopolitical situation of the voivodship party organization. In noting a significant drop in party ranks, the causes of this phenomenon were presented in a comprehensive manner. It was stated directly in the report that "the party had to pay this high price for mistakes and deformation in the ideological work of the 1970's".

Further on in the report, the current situation in the voivodship party organization was discussed very specifically and with much insight. Attention was called to the proposals which came about as a result of the current reports campaign. In general, they boil down to the search for ways of implementing leninist standards in interparty life. The role of PZPR elements in defining and advocating social priorities is stressed in these proposals. The period of martial law suspension in which the party ought to authenticate the social preconditions for overcoming the crisis is a period of particular trial. Cases of bureaucratic behavior in the work of the state administration as well as all signs of speculation must be met with opposition. Persons who have compromised themselves should also be removed from party ranks. Maintaining positive trends in industrial production growth is also extremely important as is the involvement of plant organizations in the proper implementation of the principles of economic reform.

Mobilization is required in activity on behalf of reactivating workers self-governments and organizing new trade unions. What is more, we should become aware of the fact that nearly 60 percent of the professionally active people in the Chelm Voivodship have not passed the age of 35.



/The KW PZPR secretary, Piotr Sobiecki, also spoke about possibilities related to the activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. It was ascertained that the basic responsibility of party organizations is to answer the question of how to act so that the party may expand its ties with the labor class and with working people more efficiently and effectively and gain their confidence, to become a true leading force./

The discussion presented the situation in the respective POP's [Basic Party Organizations] in a very clear-sighted manner. Much attention was devoted to, above all, the discussion of the conditions for the fulfillment by the party of a leading role in society. In addition, it was stressed that activity which aims at purging party ranks will not be complete if matters concerning the accountability of persons from the country's direct leadership in the 1970's do not become settled once and for all. This matter--as was stated--cannot be left alone because there is too much talk about it by members of the basic PZPR echelons.

/The statements made by many of the discussion participants/ stressed the role of party meetings as the basic forum for the shaping of ideological and essential activity. However, attention was called to the fact that frequently this forum is a formalized institution which is far removed from leninist principles. This state of affairs is blamed on the leadership of party organizations which often assumes a waiting position. Meanwhile, it appears--if only from the statement made by /Wiktor Krawczyk/, a physician from Wlodawa--that the party must counteract all signs of deceptive activity, including that from lower ranks.

The following participated in the plenary discussion: /Maciej Redde,/ director of the Economic Center in Wlodawa; /Stanislaw Ciwinski,/ employee of the Administration of Access Railways in Chelm; /Jan Polomski,/ assistant chief of the Voivodship Military Staff Headquarters in Chelm; /Jan Sygnowski,/ teacher from Wojslawice; /Wiktor Krawczyk,/ physician from ZOZ [Labor Union Local] in Wlodawa; /Stanislaw Kosacki,/ laborer from Chelm gmina; /Jan Kleszowski,/ employee of ZWS [Artificial Fiber Plants] in Krasnystaw; /Janusz Kopcinski,/ employed of ChPB [Chelm Construction Industry]; /Bogumila Gornik,/ employee of WPHW [Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise]; /Andrzej Stefanski,/ first secretary of the Main Committee [KG] of PZPR in Siedlisz.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, a resolution was adopted in which the tasks of the voivodship organization were defined in terms of strengthening cohesion and unity among party ranks.

#### Ideological Conference on Trade Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 18 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (gaj): "Traditions of the Labor Movement and the Polish Armed Forces in Chelm"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(Own information.) On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Polish labor movement, the KW PZPR in Chelm is organizing a 2-day



ideological conference devoted to the traditions of the labor movement and the Polish armed forces on Chelm soil. The conference will be held in the exhibition hall of the Voivodship House of Culture [WDK] on the 19th and 20th of this month [January]. During the conference, a series of lectures and reports will be presented./

On the first day of the conference, lectures will be presented by: Dr /E. Horoch/ from UMCS [Marie Curie-Sklodowska University] in Lublin: "The Labor Movement in Chelm"; Docent Dr Hab /E. Olszewski/ from UMCS: "PPR [Polish Workers Party] on Chelm Soil in the Struggle for National Liberation (1942-1948)"; Col Dr /M. Wieczorek/ from the Military Political Academy [WAP]: "The PPR Concept of Independence and its Implementation in the Years 1942-1945" and Col Prof Dr /E. Jadziak/ from the General Staff Academy [ASG]: "Military Policies and Strategies of People's Poland (July 1944-May 1945)". Reports will be made by /E. Maciag, secretary of ZW TPRP [Voivodship Administration of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] in Chelm: "The Formation of a Labor-Peasant Alliance Between 1918-1939" and by Col J. Polonski, assistant chief of WszW [Voivodship Military Staff Headquarters] in Chelm: "The Struggle for the Preservation of People's Leadership on Chelm Soil--KRN [People's Council in Poland] Activity".

/On the second day of deliberations/, conference participants will become acquainted with lectures presented by Lt Col /R. Kulinski/ from the editorial staff of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI entitled, "The Banners of Chelm," and by Col Dr /K. Kaczmarek/ from the Military Institute of History [WIH]: "LWP [Polish People's Army] Units Formed in Chelm". Reports will also be presented by Col Docent Dr /E. Tomczak/ from the Higher Officers School in Torun: "The History of the Higher School of Artillery No 1 1944-1945"; by /P. Gasiorowski/ from Kwidzyn: "From the History of the 11th Student Anti-Tank Artillery Brigade" and by Col Dr /Z. Raznikiewicz/ from ASG [General Staff Academy]: "The Combat Route from Chelm to Mielnik of the First Tank Corps". Two interesting exhibits have also been set up in connection with the conference in which the following will participate: labor movement activists, youth, the ideological aktiv from work establishments and representatives of various professional communities. One of the exhibits will be open from the 14th of this month [January] in the District Museum in Chelm. It illustrates the traditions of the labor movement in Chelm from 1905 to 1948. The other exhibit, whose opening will take place on the 20th of this month at the Voivodship House of Culture, will present sets of rare photograms from the battles of Polish soldiers during World War II.

## Implementation of Socioeconomic Tasks

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 18 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (gaj): "Chelm: Assessment of the Implementation of Socio-economic Tasks in 1982"]

[Text] (Own Source.) At yesterday's session, the members of the KW PZPR Executive Board in Chelm conducted an assessment of the implementation of socioeconomic tasks in the voivodship in the past year.

It appears from the presented material that in 1982 the falling trend was halted in many areas of the economy. This particularly concerns industry, where a 12 percent increase in sold production was reached with a 4.6 percent lower employment by comparison with 1981. The growth trend was achieved in a majority of enterprises with an already better supply of coal, liquid fuel and electric power, but with constantly occurring problems in the area of other supplies, especially supplies of imported raw and other materials. This was the main reason for the inability to achieve the 1981 level of sold production by 7 enterprises, among them being: the "Chelm Cooperative" of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, [WZSR "SCH"], "Pawlowianka" Cooperative and Krasnystaw ZWS [Artificial Fiber Plant]. However, the lower value of sold production in these 7 enterprises was compensated in the remaining ones, which reached a total of nearly 2.5 billion zlotys. The greatest production growth occurred in the Cement INdustrial Group, the Regional Dairy Cooperative and the "Cora" Clothing Plants [ZPO "Cora"] in Krasnystaw as well as in ChZO [Chelm Shoe Plant] and ZPOW [Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plant in Chelm.

Pretty good results were also obtained in the export of industrial products. These were primarily: shoes, clothing, cement, powdered milk, products of the fruit and vegetable processing industry and agricultural machinery. The share of exports in the sold production of enterprises came to 10 percent. However, attempts are already being made by plants and administrations of the voivodship to raise this amount to 16 percent, i.e. the level from several years ago. Similar actions concern industry as a whole. Their goal is to reach the production level prior to the crisis as soon as possible.

On the other hand, the implementation of tasks in the construction industry did not go well. Among the main reasons for the unfavorable situation in this sector of the national economy were shortages in the supply of steel, finishing and installation materials, organizational problems resulting from the decentralization of the construction industry, and a low level of production discipline and work output. For example, because of the steel shortage, last year's work output in the house construction factory amounted to only 50 percent by comparison with previous years. As a result, the Chelm Construction Industry [ChPB], in not making use of

the full production potential of its house construction factory, was forced to bring in the same kinds of elements from other factories such as "Elka" and "Ilawa" and thereby to incur unnecessary costs. These and similar paradoxical situations were one of the reasons for basic production in the construction industry to be 132 [numbers illegible] million zlotys lower in 1982 than in 1981. Certain negative trends in agriculture should also be noted. Due to a long period of drought, the harvest yield of row crops and of some fodder crops was lower. In animal production, projected indices were not obtained in the planned number of livestock. The increased slaughter of sows and cows, the unfavorable balance of our own fodder and the increasing unprofitability of animal-raising will affect the level of animal production during the current year [1983].

In calling attention to these negative phenomena in agriculture during the discussion, Executive Board members expressed the fear that they may worsen. All the more that, as it was ascertained, buying of mineral fertilizer by farmers is very slow in the entire voivodship. In accepting many decisions, the KW Executive Board also recommended the implementation of proposals which should bring about the improvement of the economic situation in the voivodship and particularly in the construction industry and in the implementation of investment tasks.

In the area of organizational matters, the Executive Board members approved personnel changes among KW PZPR employees.

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ZIELONA GORA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Political Work in Countryside

/Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 10 Nov 82 pp 1,2

/Unsigned article: "Session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the ZSL /United Peasant Party/ Supreme Committee in Zielona Gora: Situation in Agriculture; Political Work in the Countryside"/

/Text/ Yesterday a joint session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Province Committee was held in Zielona Gora on the topic of the implementation of the assumptions of the joint agricultural policy of both parties.

Those present listened to a report from the Province Office on the situation in Zielona Gora agriculture. The effects of the drought will continue to influence the economics of the countryside and agriculture. Winter plowing and sugar beet harvesting are ending, and 95 percent of the planned area has been sown with winter grains; several thousand hectares had to be re-sown owing to the lodging of barley. The marked decline in the harvests and stocks of fodder is adversely affecting livestock production, with the sow population having diminished to a particularly sharp extent. But other statistics are more optimistic: during the first 10 months of this year 9,000 hectares of land have been sold and depots are full with mineral fertilizers; there is the risk that storage space for fertilizers will be exhausted if their purchases decline and shipments continue or even are augmented outside the regular distribution system. The supply of agricultural equipment and implements also has improved, although the available variety and quality, let alone their high prices, engender many justified reservations.

The participants adopted a joint plan for political action in the countryside during the fall-winter period. The plan provides for not only joint action by PZPR and ZSL echelons and meetings of rural PZPR and ZSL organizations but also the utilization of all elements of rural self-government and socio-occupational organizations of farmers to explain /to farmers/ the agricultural policy and current socio-economic problems.

In the discussions attention was drawn to the need for an adequate satisfaction of the production needs of the countryside by the state and economic administra-

tion. Considerable attention was devoted to the flaws in production services to agriculture: the shortcomings in procurements (recently, for example, sugar beet procurements were suspended for a week), contracting, the supply of means of production and fodder, and the introduction of sudden changes in the rules for the grading of delivered milk as well as of drastic increases in the prices of, e.g. molasses. The prevailing opinion was that the processing industry and trade want to burden agriculture with their excessively high production costs due to poor management. Special criticism was addressed to dairy cooperatives, which want to shift onto milk suppliers the sole responsibility for low quality of produce without doing much to streamline their own operations and eliminate the considerable negligences in the sanitary aspects of their transport and processing of milk.

The recommendations ensuing from the joint discussion were transmitted for action to the Province Office and the agricultural departments of the PZPR and ZSL province echelons.

#### Reports Campaign Progress

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 9 Dec 82 pp 1,2

/Unsigned article: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee in Zielona Gora: Course of Reports Campaign; Preparations for Province Party Conference; Complaints and Suggestions of Citizens"/

/Text/ Yesterday the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee in Zielona Gora held a session.

/Before noon, the Executive Board met with the first secretaries of local party echelons and large-plant party organizations as well as with the political workers of the Province Committee. //printed in boldface/ Certain problems of intra-party work were discussed in the light of reports conferences and meetings and the first secretary of the Province Committee presented a report on the socio-political situation in the country and the main tasks of the ideological and organizational work of party echelons and organizations. These tasks deal chiefly with the consistent implementation of the program for restoring normal life in the country, creating an atmosphere of tranquil work and exerting further efforts to enhance the activity of the party and consolidate its ranks.

/The Executive Board of the Province Committee listened to a report on the progress of the reports campaign./ The meetings of basic party organizations are over and final plant conferences are taking place; so far 14 gmina and city conferences have been held. The conferences of the local organizations will end during the second half of December.

The campaign is progressing well and the meetings and conferences are generally marked by high attendance by party members and delegates, with the discussion being businesslike and self-critical as regards evaluating the discussants' own performance and attitudes. Much of it deals with the implementation of local resolutions and recommendations, and little with postulates. The conclusions drawn from it chiefly deal with the need to stimulate the activity of many organizations

in industry and countryside as well as of numerically small organizations in plants and institutions; the necessity of the quarterly evaluation, by local echelons, of the proposals made at meetings and conferences; the indispensable need for holding systematic talks with individuals who violate statutory norms; the assignment of party tasks to every individual member and candidate member; and improvements in training activities and their adaptation to community needs.

/The Executive Board of the Province Committee examined the preparations for the province reports conference/ which is scheduled for late January 1983. The schedule of preparations for the conference and the procedure for drafting documents were approved and teams for drafting program materials were appointed. The conference will be preceded by, among other things, regional meetings of delegates and a plenary session of the Province Committee.

/The Executive Board of the Province Committee listened to a report on aspects of letters received by the Province Committee as well as on complaints and suggestions made to party echelons./ The adopted resolutions declare that party echelons should consistently analyze and assess the manner of implementation of requests submitted by citizens, regarding them as an important source of information on social phenomena and public atmosphere and mood. Similar assessments are needed at work establishments, inclusive of steps to eliminate the sources of complaints, irritations and conflicts. The [party] echelons are obligated to keep records of complaints, suggestions and notices. The Department for Letters and Inspections under the Province Committee should, jointly with the social commission for grievances, undertake problem studies of the sources of grievances and periodically monitor their settlement at plants and institutions; it should transmit for action to the party control commission any instance of neglect and incorrect treatment.

#### Effects of Offensive, Ideological Activities

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 16 Dec 82 pp 1,2

/Article by (Z.G.)/(z.sz.): "Reach Hearts, Minds and Imagination by Aggressive and Ideological Activities: PZPR City Conference in Zielona Gora"/

/Text/ /The realities of everyday life differ from those a year ago. The authority of the state has been strengthened, the progressing economic crisis has been halted, the base of social destructiveness--which has never, besides, been large in Zielona Gora--has diminished, moods of total negation are passing and the first steps have been taken in the direction of economic and social reforms/  
/printed in boldface/

It can thus be stated that the past 12 months have made the party more cohesive ideologically and aware of the tactical and strategic goals outlined by the 9th Extraordinary Congress. These advances have been due to party organizations as well as individual members active in industrial plants and at institutions, as well as to members of the armed forces and enforcement agencies led by the party and faithful to socialist principles.

The report on the activities of the PZPR City Committee in Zielona Gora during the period from 15 May of last year to 15 May of this year, presented yesterday by first secretary of the city committee, Stanislaw Gorny, at the city reports

conference, dealt not only with aspects of intra-party activity and the strengthening of the authority and credibility of the party program but also with aspects of the everyday life of the city's inhabitants, which are besides inseparable from the above aspects.

Life is difficult nowadays; there is a lack of housing for young people; the store shelves are half-empty; and people still often are mistrustful toward each the authorities and toward each other. But these problems are being overcome in fact, instead of just declaratively. The party is keeping its word and implementing its resolutions in the interest of the entire society and the people's state.

There also exist shortcomings in the party's activity; some party organizations exist only formally, and certain party members require to be led by the hand or simply violate the statute. The entire society and not just the party observes such individuals and draws its conclusions. Thus the party needs, as always, people devoted to the idea, individuals who can reach the hearts, minds and imagination of society by their personal attitude, independently gained authority in the community, and aggressiveness of action. For we can emerge from the crisis and social problems on our own and together.

Reports on statutory activities also were presented by Tadeusz Chilimonczyk, chairman of the City Inspection Commission, and Genowefa Bieda, chairperson of the City Party Control Commission.

The activities of both commissions, which monitor the observance of the party statute in every field of activity, have been markedly enhanced.

The mayor of the city, Stanislaw Ostrega, dealt in his speech with problems of the present and the immediate future of Zielona Gora from the material standpoint. He emphasized that--in his opinion--in the past the party did not assist the organs of the administration. The lack of that assistance was reflected in, among other thing, the dominant tendency to settle accounts.

Lt Col Jan Wisniewski, the commander of the city's militia, reported to the conference participants on the state of security and safety in the city. It can be stated that the situation is neither very good nor very bad. Some types of crime have been decreasing while others have been growing, especially as regards speculation, larcenies, moonshine production and infractions of the law by minors. But the proportion of arrests has increased markedly.

The conference participants honored with a moment of silence the memory of Leonid Brezhnev, Wladyslaw Gomolka and the members of the Zielona Gora party echelon-- Julian Jasinski, Jerzy Apenit, Jan Bogus and Teodozja Staniszevska-- deceased this year.

The deliberations of the conference were chaired by Henryk Maslowski.

More than 20 comrades signed up for participation in the discussion. Speaking time per person was limited to 10 minutes. The activities of the city party

echelon during the period most difficult to the party and the authorities were assessed positively: it has coped with its complex tasks. Concrete and concise recommendations for future work were formulated and the need for complete support of the municipal authorities in the steps they take to improve living conditions in the city was pointed out.

Leon Sobol of Falubaz stated that the party must always look ahead--know the current situation well and anticipate the problems and tasks that will arise in the future. He attached special importance to the need to investigate, by basic echelons and organizations, the cadre policies and the attitudes of persons holding responsible positions. He recommended that sessions of the executive board of the City Party Committee be held in plants, including small ones, and that the retirement of experts from industry be halted and brain drain abroad be curtailed.

Shortcomings of ideological work within the party were discussed by Grzegorz Bojak. Evaluations of party members overlook such important aspects as occupational activity and political activity. There may not be any narrow evaluations nor make-believe one-sided political work.

Janina Krynicka discussed the importance of official work and the role of party members in administration, the struggle against bureaucracy. In her opinion and that of the party organization at the Province Office, the party should not burden itself with unrealistic tasks, the mass media should be made more responsible for the accuracy of their information, and intra-party information on the situation in the country should continue to be improved. The tasks of party organizations should also include concern for maintaining urbanity at every state institution.

Jerzy Wojtczak of ZFM [expansion unknown] declared that the party can gain trust and authority by courageously tackling difficult and complex problems of working people and being uncompromising in meeting just demands. One of the most important tasks of party organizations at enterprises is, according to him, at present paying penetrating and thorough attention to aspects of the economic reform.

Zygmunt Kwiecinski of ZTPM [expansion unknown] identified the following as important tasks relating to the current activity of the city party echelon: exchange of experience in political work among the POP [basic party organizations], initiation of community discussions about complex problems of our political and economic life, improvements in the monitoring of institutions and enterprises by the City Party Committee, and broader participation of older activists in political work. Among other things, he critically evaluated GAZETA LUBUSKA on referring to articles and commentaries which he thought controversial.

Problems of the health service as well as of work, political and civic attitudes were discussed by Czeslaw Wioliczko of the Province Hospital. He declared that the organization of the health service meets the needs of neither the sick nor the workers nor the authorities, and that it requires changes, if only in the sense of enabling the mayor of the city to decide independently on the performance of health service centers operating in the city. Party members regard the prin-



cial task of the authorities and party echelons to consist in assuring ongoing progress in the construction of facilities for the new hospital.

Ideological and political activities among WSP [Province Party School] students and problems of educational institutions and scientific workers were discussed by Czesław Nowaczyk.

Aspects of the economic reform, the role of the party organization at the plant and problems of self-government in the work of plant public organizations were presented by Bronisław Oporowski of Browar.

The next discussant was Jerzy Dąbrowski, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee. He presented a broad picture of ideological-political tasks for the period ahead, stressing that the political struggle is not over, that we must endure in it and win it with arguments and open presentation of difficult problems to the public. Thus our resolutions at meetings and conferences must be tantamount to tasks that have to be implemented. The rise in the activity of the party membership should be universal. We must utilize new and older activists more fully in political activity. Work with the youth is becoming a highly important aspect of the party's activity. This also concerns the party's acting as a partner in cooperation and assistance in the solution of the problems of young people. Party organizations should, in an alliance with trade unions and self-governments, tackle the most important problems of workers, create a climate of better work and thrift and resist demagogic propaganda. The initiatives and proposals of the city party echelon should become a mandatory guidepost in the work of the managerial personnel of plants and institutions. This is a prerequisite for the success of the party's program, for the ongoing implementation of tasks. In the era of the economic reform, plant parochialism has become an acute phenomenon which complicates the implementation of social and communal service tasks that are urgent to the city and its population. The city party echelon has an important role to play as a mediator and an inspirer, so that the efforts of all would be channeled into the mainstream of actions serving the city. The extensive tasks and duties of the party in this community of over 100,000 people require continued cohesion of party ranks, unity of action, bold tackling of problems and an uncompromising attitude toward achieving specified goals.

Michał Fanałło, chairman of the city branch of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth], reported to the conference on the activities of his organization and the problems which young people expect the authorities and the party to solve, and also the social and economic initiatives of the ZSMP such as increasing the scope of housing construction.

Henryk Baturo, School Inspector General, discussed the problems of the Zielona Góra school system. He emphasized that the schools too have become a site of political and ideological struggle. In Zielona Góra, however, the attendant tensions have been extremely sporadic. It is necessary to imbue the youth more strongly with principles of patriotism and shape its ideological attitudes. The speaker also stressed the material needs of the city's school system.

Activities of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] were discussed by Zygmunt Zadworny, chairman of the PRON Provisional Council. He stressed that, among other things, the movement is also developing in the city's major industrial plants.

The other participants in the discussion submitted their comments for the record.

A resolution was adopted containing the recommendations and guidelines for further activity on the basis of the report of the first secretary of the city committee, the reports of the city party inspection committee and the city party control committee, the communications from the mayor of the city and the commander of the city militia, the resolution of the last reports and election conference and the discussion.

The conference was ended by singing "The Internationale."

#### Assessment of Economic Situation, Tendencies

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 28 Dec 82 pp 1,2

[Article by (sf): "Meeting at the PZPR Province Committee in Zielona Gora: Entering Upon the New Year With Justified Hopes"]

[Text] By tradition as usual at year end, yesterday the leading party aktiv and administrators met with the secretaries of the Province Committee, the first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee Jerzy Dabrowski; the governor of the Zielona Gora Province, Col Walerian Mikolajczak; the chief of the Province Military Headquarters, Col (Retired) Wieslaw Soltyszewski; and the commander of the province militia, Col Aleksander Borysiewicz.

After the first secretary of the Province Committee had cordially welcomed all those invited to this meeting, the floor was taken by Roman Czolkan, secretary of the Province Committee. He gave an overall assessment of the situation and tendencies in the economy of the province and outlined certain directions of action and goals for 1983. The current year 1982 now coming to its end has been yet another year of complex and difficult economic and production problems. The course of economic processes was definitely influenced by a large number of political and social events in our country.

The balance sheet of accomplishments in the year now ending indicates that the province's economy is now at a turning point, and that various factors in that economy at present are of a nature that is qualitatively different from that of a year ago. Currently peace has returned to the plants, work discipline is improving and many economic, financial and legal aspects of the reform being introduced have been brought into order. The positive effects of the reform are evident. As of last August the decline in production has been halted and the economic relations are gradually improving. In the last few months of this year favorable tendencies in industry and smoothness of production have been consolidated. Favorable changes are taking place in construction, trade and transportation.

Against the background of these positive accomplishments, negative phenomena still become sharply outlined. For example, this refers to the still low labor productivity, unsatisfactory level of the provision of optimal conditions for worker

self-governments and trade unions with the object of causing the work-forces at plants to become committed to and interested in the implementation of the planned goals.

In describing this meeting we are focusing only on certain changes taking place in the province's economy and the trends of that economy. We have already written in greater and broader detail on this topic, and we shall return to this topic in coming issues of our GAZETA.

Toward the end of the meeting Jerzy Dabrowski, first secretary of the Province Committee, requested those present to convey to the plant work-forces the expressions of thanks and gratitude from the leadership of the Province Committee and from him personally for the labor and efforts invested in attaining the results achieved so far and for the creation of a good and tranquil work atmosphere. He conveyed his best wishes for a happy and prosperous new year to all those present and, through their mediation, to all working people.

#### Proposals for Reports Campaign

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 8-9 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

/Unsigned article: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee in Zielona Gora: Plenary Session of the PZPR Province Committee To Be Held on 13 January; Province Reports Conference To Be Held on 26 January; Conclusions Drawn from Reports Campaign"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source

/Text/ On 7 /January 1983/ the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee held a session in Zielona Gora at which it examined the complex whole of intra-party problems relating to the coming plenary session of the Province Committee and the preparations for the Province Reports Conference.

/The Executive Board of the Province Committee resolved to convene a session of the Province Committee on 13 January of this year./ That session will deal with tasks of party echelons and organizations regarding the further strengthening of the ideological identity and organizational cohesion of the party and the approbation of materials to be submitted to the Province Reports Conference. Drafts of the plenum's agenda were discussed and a number of practical comments was made concerning the assessments of the ideological activity of the organizations and echelons and the related tasks. It was decided to invite the aktiv of the ideological front from public organizations, societies and academic institutions to participate in the plenum's deliberations.

/The concept for conducting the Province Reports Conference was examined and approved./ Its date was fixed for 26 January of this year. Drafts of the basic report and program materials for that conference were discussed: they will be considered by the next session of the Province Committee.

/The Executive Board of the Province Committee examined the assessment of the reports campaign at local party echelons/ and the recommendations addressed to province and central authorities. The adopted recommendations state that, among other things, the executive boards of local party echelons should thoroughly

analyze the political results of the reports conferences and, against this background, appraise the state of the party, its ideological and organizational cohesion and its leading role in the community. A penetrating and updated evaluation of the ethical-moral and ideological attitudes of members is required. The executive boards of local party echelons must moreover analyze in detail the proposals and postulates submitted during the campaign and determine their feasibility and the possible schedules for their implementation.

/The Executive Board of the Province Committee approved the report on its performance in 1982/ which will be submitted to Province Committee members at the next session.

#### Party Strength, Authority

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 14 Jan 83 pp 1,2

/Article by (St. F./ZG/Z.Sz.): "The Party's Strength and Authority Hinge on the Activity of Its Members: Plenum of the Zielona Gora PZPR Province Committee With the Participation of Jan Glowczyk"/

/Text/ Yesterday the Province Committee of the Polish United Workers Party held its deliberations in Zielona Gora. The plenum was attended by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

The principal topic of the deliberations was the tasks of the province's party echelons and organizations in further strengthening the ideological identity and organizational cohesiveness of the party. Participating by invitation were the political aktiv of public and trade-union organizations, societies, institutions and higher schools.

The plenum was chaired by Jerzy Dabrowski, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee.

The report for discussion was presented by Zbigniew Pietkiewicz, Province Committee secretary. The plenum participants received report and program materials on the topics of the deliberations and assessments of the performance of the province party organization during the current term of office of the authorities.

Andrzej Swillo, first secretary of the Cybinka City-Gmina Party Committee, referring to the ideological unity of the party, drew attention to the attitudes and commitment of PZPR members in everyday life. Resolutions can be fully implemented if every PZPR member identify his attitude with that of the party, everywhere, whether at work or at home. In the speaker's opinion, in our party work we have become accustomed to think schematically and await directives. We know about everything that should be done in the country, but not what should be done by ourselves. There is a lack of individual initiative, independent thinking, and independent solution of the problems of one's own community.

Ideological-upbringing work was a major subject of the address delivered by Artur Szymanski, Zielona Gora City Party Committee secretary. That work absolutely requires rapid and complete information. To be sure, this is not always

borne in mind. In the speaker's opinion, this is due to some kind of censorship; e.g. the smaller party organizations are deprived of current information on party life and events in the province and country. Speaking of upbringing work in schools, he declared that the teaching personnel includes individuals who clearly espouse views hostile to the party and the socialist system of society. What is worse, they proclaim them among the youth, thus causing ideological confusion. They are not always and everywhere properly counteracted by the teaching community.

Karol Zurawowicz, director of the Academic Lycee in Zielona Gora, spoke of the need to deepen Marxist knowledge, this being decisive to the ideological identity of party members. The cohesiveness of party ranks derives precisely from ideological identity. Upbringing and propaganda work cannot be effective unless the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are grasped. Thus there is a need for a constant deepening of knowledge through various forms of ideological and political education and self-education.

Schools have become an arena of ideological and political struggle, according to Henryk Batur, general inspector for education and upbringing. He further said that the opponents of our system of society and party employ various forms of struggle for the content of the educational process, for the orientation of youth organizations and for depriving schools of their secular character. Thus, schools cannot be left to themselves. It is necessary to meet the intellectual needs of the youth. This cannot be done by the teachers alone: scientists and cultural activists also are needed. A broadly conceived upbringing front also requires closer bonds between the school and parents.

The need for a return to the sources of Marxist knowledge and plain education was discussed by Ryszard Rowinski, an editor of NADODRZE. Political and ideological struggle requires elementary Marxist knowledge as well as elementary knowledge about the party. In the speaker's opinion, the extent of that knowledge among the broad membership is extremely modest. This precisely is the reason for the absence of discussions of ideological topics and exchange of thoughts and views within the party. Knowledge of the resolutions of the 9th party congress also is small, in situations in which they are slandered by persons hostile to the party. Books by Marxist theoreticians have disappeared from the bookstores. Ryszard Rowinski asked for the establishment of an inter-province party school in Zielona Gora and regular party training.

Stanislaw Mucha, director of the Regional Propaganda Center in Krosno Odrz., devoted some of his comments to ideological aspects of intra-party work as well as to secular rituals. He proposed that the authorities provide the conditions for conducting secular ceremonies at an appropriate level.

The experience gained by small and medium POP [basic party organizations] in their work was discussed by Edward Kowalski from the JUNIOR Works in Nowa Sol. Such organizations have been neglecting party and ideological work. He proposed that the best lecturers and speakers be dispatched to these small POP, along with thematic lists on party training.

The party in the current socio-political situation must be the principal locus for the solution of present-day dilemmas, according to Jan J. Debek, an editor of GAZETA LUBUSKA. To this end, certain conditions must be met, e.g. open publicity as a formula for the work of all committees, the entire apparatus. Today, in the discussant's opinion, the most important issue is to explore the possibilities for eliminating the discord among different true things being said about Poland. It is precisely this free exchange of thought subordinated to ideological-systemic principles that should be promoted by the apparatus and activists of the party. For ideological-political work is not only regular containment of "deviations" and not only guarding the principles but also constant persuasion in behalf of common exploration of new paths.

Speaking of GAZETA LUBUSKA, editor Jan J. Debek stated that its editorial personnel had adhered to the ideological-systemic principles even in the most difficult moments and shall continue to do so in the future. No one should doubt this. The discussion should rather deal with ways of implementing these principles. Such discussion is even needed.

Pawel Buzantowicz, first secretary of the Jasien City-Gmina Party Committee, discussed cultural problems of urban and rural communities. He declared that these communities are pervaded by complete cultural stagnation. This is exemplified by the shutting down of the "Ruch" and "Rolnik" farmer clubs and reading rooms in work establishments. Cinemas are being closed and there is no touring cinema. Actually, the cultural facilities do exist but properly trained personnel is unavailable. This concerns not just the living conditions of cultural workers and activists but also the decline in their prestige.

The quality of ideological and political work was the main theme of the speech by Jan Mielzynski, first secretary of the Sulechow City-Gmina Party Committee. He opined that it is necessary to work out an appropriate style of work to enrich and deepen political knowledge among the broad party membership. He considers personal contacts between activists and rank-and-file party members to be a highly essential form of that work. Direct and honest talks with workers and farmers are precisely the optimal form of enriching political knowledge, and they are useful to both sides.

The vice governor, Zbyszko Piwonski, commented in the discussion that we often explore ways of overcoming material difficulties in our everyday life, but our problems as regards consciousness and ideology are deeper and finding ways of overcoming them will be more difficult. We must find these ways from our own experience. Discussion is a form of the party's activities. Hence, business-like discussion should help us disentangle ourselves from pointless rumors, fancies and tales.

We also have the right to feel perturbed about the youth question. This matter cannot be settled by giving rebukes. Many opinions have to be verified and patient reasoning has to be made possible. Above all, promises that cannot be kept should not be made to the youth. It should also be borne in mind that it is precisely the young people who, sooner or later, will supplant us all in every position and decide the country's further destiny.

Toward the end of the discussion the floor was taken by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary.

Krzysztof Kaszynski from the Higher Teacher Training School presented in behalf of the commission a draft resolution of the plenum concerning ideological and organizational matters. It was approved unanimously.

As the second item on its agenda the Province Committee discussed organizational matters relating to the Province Reports Conference and drafts of basic program documents which shall be submitted to the delegates. The preparations for the conference were described by Zbigniew Nieminski, Province Committee secretary.

The plenum approved the date for the conference, as proposed by the Executive Board--26 January of this year. The conference will be preceded by regional meetings of delegates during 18-21 January.

Opinions on the preparation of materials for the conference were presented at the plenum by the comrades Oleg Sanocki, Radoslaw Nowak, Waldemar Brzostowski and Zygmunt Marcinkowski.

The following comrade candidate members of the Province Committee were appointed to full membership in the Province Committee: Stanislaw Stachecki, farmer from Nowy Dwor, Zbaszyn Gmina; Alicja Marszalek, deputy director of the ZSzG [expansion unknown] in Slawa; Jozef Orlovski, warehousing employee, Glass Plant in Trzciel; Zdzislaw Kostrzewa, employee of Zielona Gora Furniture Factory (ZFM), Plant No 9 in Szprotawa; and Kazimierz Ratajczak, employee of FAM [expansion unknown] in Wolsztyn.

The plenum approved the appointment of comrade Wladyslaw Niedzielski to the post of director of the Economic Department of the Province Committee, and comrade Mieczyslaw Rataj to the post of director of the Center for Information, Analyses and Political Forecasts, PZPR Province Committee.

The deliberations were ended with the singing of "The Internationale."

#### Former Secretary on Party Objectives

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 14 Jan 83 p 3

[Report: "The Struggle to Gain Public Support of the Party's Aims and Program (Report on the Speech by Zbigniew Pietkiewicz, Secretary of the PZPR Zielona Gora Province Committee)"]

[Text] The basic thesis of the report is that the party, in an acute political struggle, is recovering its strength and decisively influencing the normalization of life in the country. The struggle to win public trust, surmount reluctance and passivity and gain active support of the party's policy continues and shall continue. The factors favoring the attainment of the goals outlined by the party include society's desire for calm and stabilization of life. But this cannot overshadow the fact that domestic and foreign opponents of socialism have imposed

on us hard conditions of political struggle. They are attempting and will continue to attempt struggle against our system of society and the authorities, and they will continue to exploit destructively the discontent of various social groups in order to weaken socialism and disturb the process of reforms and public peace. The principal attack will be directed against the party. This necessitates persistent efforts to consolidate the party and further its ideological and organizational cohesion.

In the post-August [1980] period the province party organization had been gravely weakened. We told ourselves that resoluteness and determination are needed in order to rebuild public trust, and that a new style of action of party elements and partner-like cooperation with all allies are needed as well. There is a need to rebuild party life on the basis of the party statute and the program of the 9th party congress as well as of a rigorous observance of ideological and ethical norms in practical everyday action.

The resolutions of the 7th Plenum posed to all party members unambiguous tasks and introduced the duty of declaration of one's attitude for all members. A slow but definite revival of activities began to take place, first at the level of the party echelons and then at that of the party organizations. They became more active, took speedier action to eliminate tensions and conflicts and started to solve difficult social problems. The reports campaign demonstrated that the province party organization passed through a tumultuous period in a numerically weakened but internally more cohesive condition and is capable of exercising its leading role, directing the implementation of new tasks. Its basic organizations and echelons placed in the forefront of current tasks the solution of own problems at the plant, community, city and gmina levels.

But there still are many negative aspects of party work. Not all the party organizations are performing their statutory duties. The organizations in the countryside, at small plants and in certain province-level institutions are poorly implementing ideological and political tasks.

The suspension of the martial law means greater responsibility and duties to the party and its members. The suspension of emergency regulations does not mean the suspension of political and ideological struggle, which is now even more difficult. The hidden enemy is changing the tactics of his diversionary and propaganda activities; he does not cease inflaming the public, sowing dissension, instigating against the authorities, provoking tensions.

All party elements must thus be still more active and resourceful in selecting ways and means of unmasking the enemy. Disciplined implementation of party resolutions and directives and discipline in achieving definite purposes are priority objectives. The consolidation of ranks must be based on adherence to Leninist norms of party life and rebuilding of the ties between the party and



the working class and society. Top priority should continue to be given to the activity of party organizations in bringing the economy in order, introducing self-government and creating a climate of co-responsibility for the implementation of the program for stabilizing work and life on every sector. This also is associated with vigilance toward actions by the enemy, who strives to impede social and occupational activity and attempts to exploit our every mistake to discredit the ideas and program of the party.

The program of the 9th Congress, adopted during an unusually difficult period, is regarded by us as fixed and immutable. It is our duty and obligation to rally people round its implementation and win back those who still remain passive, undecided, indifferent. This concerns especially young people and workers.

These paramount objectives require intensified ideological activity. In this respect, substantial progress has been achieved by improving lectural, information and publishing work, but the needs are still greater. Our propaganda still is not always effective and our arguments still do not always convince and persuade those on whom the party depends tremendously--the broad masses of common working people. Thus, persistent and ongoing effort is needed to both adapt the forms and methods of ideological and propaganda work to the needs of the public and occupational groups and select an appropriate combination of arguments, persuasions, and open and explicit presentation of the complex problems of the country's development. The centers of the ideological front must assure the rapid dissemination of political information, the topicality of that information, and its effectiveness in combatting slanderous rumors, insinuations and half-truths and rectifying the tendentious news and comments being disseminated by enemies of socialism. Various forms of ideological action should be utilized better: in addition to the mass media, which have to surmount their own barriers of interpretive simplification of events and occurrences and some formalism of argumentation, plant radio stations, wall newspapers, posters and flyers should be fully utilized in the service of the party.

Greater importance in party life should be given to problems of world outlook and the secularization of public life. More attention to these problems should also be given by the Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture (TKKS), the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge (TWP) and cultural-educational centers.

In ideological activity there can be no blank spots on the maps of steady and planned work of the party. In this connection, schools are an unusually important sector. The political enemy calculatngly involves the youth in his game, treating school as a special place for world-outlook and political indoctrination. Thus, the ideological attitude of educators and young people is a fundamental issue. The upbringing of right-thinking, ideology-minded, responsible individuals who grasp the national and statehood aims of socialist Poland is a basic matter. The party has the strategic goal of regaining its influence among the working youth. Despite many just resolutions and decisions, the party's political activities among the young still display formalism. It lacks flexible methods of work, which have to be explored--through dialogue, cooperation and assistance.

The Province Committee secretary discussed the tasks and activities of party members in public organizations, people's councils, cultural institutions and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), declaring that the situation requires re-orienting many forms of the work of the ideological-front organizations and centers in order to adapt them to actual requirements and needs.

The party is striding inflexibly and consistently along the path of national agreement. Building the universal front of national agreement is our duty, because this will decide the fundamental issue of when and how soon will we cope with rescuing the country from the [economic] crisis. Such was the concluding part of the speech of comrade Zbigniew Pietkiewicz. He further stated that it is a task to all party elements to create the political conditions for a better work of people, the climate of an active participation in the socialist renewal of our life. All our ideological-political, organizational and educational measures will be taken in close contact with the working people. And our actions are, regardless of difficulties and obstacles, guided by the idea and conviction that we must implement our tasks. Because there is no road back from the program adopted by the party at the 9th Congress.

#### New Secretary on Economic Status

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 17 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Roman Czolhan, Secretary of the Zielona Gora PZPR Province Committee: "Climbing Upward: The Economy--Its State and Prospects" by Stanislaw and Prospects"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade secretary, can we by now speak at least a little optimistically about the state of our economy?

[Answer] It is my understanding that we shall discuss the economic situation of the Zielona Gora Province. It reflects the same trends as the nation's economy as a whole. As known, it is an integral part of that economy. We should bear in mind, however, that economic processes are influenced by political and social processes. We have been living through a paralysis of our economy owing to destructive actions which caused a drastic decline in output and the growth of inflationary processes. At present, peace has returned to work establishments and labor discipline is improving. Owing to the introduction of the economic reform many economic-financial and legal matters are being brought in order.

[Question] Can it be said that these are the first swallows of the spring in our economy?

[Answer] We all need optimism. In the economy, the mechanisms and laws governing it require cold calculation, realistic solutions and objective appraisals. And all these do point to some positive symptoms in our economy. The most important of these symptoms is the halting of the decline in industrial output. Since August of last year that decline has been reversed by a slow but already apparent and tangible rise in industrial output. Economic relations also are gradually improving.

[Question] Don't you think, though, that our ascent is arduous?....

[Answer] ...Yes, it can be described thus. Unfortunately, these positive tendencies still do not occur in all branches and sub-sectors. The rise in output has been recorded for such industries as fine ceramics, tanning, means of transportation, and electrotechnical and electronics. Toward the end of last year 43 of key industrial enterprises recorded a higher level of output than in the previous year. Consider, moreover, that last June there had been only four such enterprises.

Question Was the decisive factor a rise in labor productivity, improved supplies of raw and other materials or, at last, proper functioning of the reform?

Answer Each of these factors helped a little. Let us bear in mind that, owing to the retirement of several thousand persons with old-age pensions earlier than expected, which took place early last year, the enterprises had to fulfill their targets while incompletely staffed. At some plants the shortage of direct production workers makes itself felt keenly.

Question But nevertheless....?

Answer We all must realize that the increase in labor productivity and streamlining of the manufacturing processes are the principal factors in increasing output. Something has overcome its inertia in this respect already, but labor productivity is still far from adequate.

Question At the factories it is being said that labor productivity will rise if the raw and other materials needed are supplied.

Answer Early in 1982 the state of these supplies seemed to be dramatic. But despite drastic restrictions on imports and the application of economic sanctions against Poland we have somehow overcome this tremendously complicated problem.

Question How decisive in this respect was the aid of the socialist countries and chiefly of the USSR?

Answer It was a decisive factor but not the only one. The enterprise managers were forced to explore their own solutions to this problem, use domestic raw and other materials more broadly, alter the variety and profile of output, etc. We must be fully aware that this situation will still persist. We will have to rely on our own resources and possibilities.

Question And on the initiatives and suggestions of worker teams and their management.

Answer Just so. Good examples of this trend exist in industry, especially in small industry and the cooperatives. They have been effective in taking the initiative to enrich the market with foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods, of the staple kind. The point is that they should do so more boldly and courageously. It will be indispensable for the local authorities to support such initiatives by allocating premises for artisan shops and facilities for production purposes—processing, bread-baking, confectionery, etc. This also concerns support for such projects by granting preferences in allocation of credit, licenses, tax relief, and procurement of the necessary materials and equipment.

Question In a word, the battle for full store shelves is raging.

Answer The wording is too strong. But this indeed concerns restoring the market equilibrium.

/Question/ So far this equilibrium has been extremely unstable. Money in circulation continues to increase on a broad scale owing to the wage increases, awards, compensation payments, and welfare allowances received by the population while market supply continues to be extremely limited.

/Answer/ True. Unfortunately, last year it was not possible to halt the negative trends as regards the shaping of the economic equilibrium. This was due to a number of objective as well as subjective factors. The objective factors are chiefly the duty of the socialist state to protect the welfare of the social groups subsisting in a difficult material situation. This is particularly important during the current economic crisis. A negative and at the same time dangerous factor is the pressure for increases in wages and other payments without balancing them by an increase in labor productivity and hence also in quantity of output. I must state that not all the enterprises which raise their prices have linked this to the effects ensuing from productivity, quality of work, etc. On the national scale this means billions of zlotys.

/Question/ In other words, the money supply exceeds the goods supply. One can stuff one's pockets with money, but what of it if there is nothing to be bought with that money.

/Answer/ Exactly. Everyone should realize this. A market equilibrium could also be achieved by increasing prices. But whom will this affect most painfully? The answer is easy.

/Question/ Willy-nilly, we again emphasize the need to increase output by increasing labor productivity. Perhaps also output could be increased by reducing production cost, improving the quality of goods and halting the unjustified hikes of the prices of finished industrial goods.

/Answer/ I believe that trade should be the selectioner of goods channeled by industry into the market. It is simply that trade enterprises should not purchase shoddy goods or goods that are unjustifiably high-priced. Now once we are discussing trade, it should set up its own production facilities and enrich the market with its products. There already exist good examples of this in our province, but they are too few. In addition, attempts are being made to expand trade and barter between our trade enterprises and the Cottbus border district in the GDR. The outlook for this cooperation, which in effect should enrich our market with staple goods, is favorable. I believe that such cooperation among discrete industrial enterprises has a chance to succeed. The leadership of the party echelons in Zielona Gora and Cottbus is holding talks on this matter.

/Question/ Let us discuss a little the topic of construction. The report that the 1982 housing construction plan has been fulfilled in the Zielona Gora Province has been received with disbelief.

/Answer/ Let him disbelieve who so wishes. The fact is that last year 2,170 dwellings were built in our province--exactly as many as planned. One can discuss whether this is too much or too little. In relation to the possibilities, this is certainly much, but in relation to needs very little.

/Question/ In the past, nearly 3,000 dwellings annually had been built during some years in this province.

/Answer/ Possibilities for housing construction on this scale do exist. We have assets in the form of a fairly strong building materials industry, local building materials, and a significant production potential of construction enterprises. The problem is the infrastructure. The larger urban areas in the province by now practically lack developed building lots. It is necessary to build central heating plants, new water intakes, roads and power supply systems--in general, everything that composes the communal infrastructure. This is precisely what even now is restricting the scope of housing construction. But a chance to overcome this problem exists. The ministry's policy will give preference to the solution of the related matters, and more resources will be allotted wherever the scale of construction is greater.

/Question/ There is some contradiction in this....

/Answer/ Only a seeming one. If more is to be built, every developed building lot must be utilized for so-called vertical construction as well as for construction of houses, not necessarily from large panels. This also concerns promoting all forms of building construction. We expect active support from the public in solving these problems.

/Question/ This also concerns the full utilization of the capacities of construction enterprises.

/Answer/ Yes, and their restructuring as well. By now there exist agricultural construction enterprises such as the Zagan Construction Enterprise, which allot more than half of their capacities for housing construction. This tendency should not only persist but also grow. Enterprises of the building materials industry are expected to display initiative in augmenting output for the needs of private home building. Additional economic incentives have been proclaimed for this purpose.

/Question/ Comrade secretary, at present work establishments are drafting their economic-production plans for this year and the two subsequent years. These plans will largely decide the speed with which we will emerge from this nadir of the crisis. What tasks in this respect fall to the lot of the plant party organizations?

/Answer/ They have been defined clearly and sufficiently by the 10th Plenum of the Party Committee. Opinions and recommendations pertaining to our province have been stated more precisely at the province party-economic conference. Nevertheless, I wish to draw your attention to the need to support the work-forces in the solution of all socially urgent problems. But the possibilities and the actual situation have to be taken into account. One should look beyond parochial interests, in this connection.

/Question/ By the end of this month the PZPR Province Reports Conference will be convened. What do you expect from its deliberations?

[Answer] A thorough analysis and appraisal of the achievements made so far by the province party organization, as well as decisions and recommendations serving to meet more rapidly and better the expectations of the public while at the same time engaging its full support and commitment.

1386

CSO: 2600/329

SEJM SPEECHES OF 31 JANUARY PUBLISHED

Speech by Wojna

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 83 p 4

/Text/ We are conducting the debate on foreign policy of our state and on the evaluation of the international situation in a special time. There are many signs that Europe--and in a sense world politics--have entered a period which will bring very important decisions with regard to armaments, which will shape the climate of international relations on our continent for many years to come. These decisions will be synonymous with a choice between peaceful cooperation and entering a road which may lead all of us to the brink of nuclear war.

Throughout Europe there is no more important topic or issue today than whether American medium-range missiles will be placed on West German territory and on that of several other NATO states in the fall of this year, or whether the United States will take a constructive approach to the Soviet proposals with regard to the Euromissiles. The attitude toward this problem constitutes today the main dividing line in the internal formation of political forces in many countries in the West. This problem mobilizes the attitudes of millions of people. This is the number one topic of commentaries in the press, radio, and television.

The social consciousness of nations has undergone an important qualitative change: people have begun to understand that the amount of weapons of mass destruction on our continent has reached a critical ceiling. The crossing of that line, coupled with the particular features of the new arms, may cause the course of events to get out of human control.

The resolution of the Warsaw Pact Advisory Political Committee at the recent meeting in Prague responds to these social moods. Its meaning boils down to the assertion that it is not too late, and that people can still stop the fatal course of events. The Soviet Union and other members of our alliance offer the members of the Atlantic Alliance a treaty on mutual rejection of the use of force.

The truth of the seriousness of the situation slowly, but still incompletely, has begun to reach Polish society. Focusing on our internal problems and

divided by our contradictions, we have somehow failed to notice a fundamental change in the climate of relations between the capitalist West and the socialist East in recent years. It was, in fact, the unfriendly propaganda which has acted in this direction, attempting to convince the Poles that their affairs were the center of attention for the entire world, while the West exploited our difficulties as an instrument which could weaken the Warsaw Pact. It is hard to believe that there were and still are groups in Polish society which close their eyes to the connection between the changes in the international situation, and the shake-ups which have occurred in our country. If, however, the Polish nation is pervaded by a feeling of security--I think that it is largely true of the younger generation--it is at the same time an exemplification of appreciation for the might and work of the Warsaw Pact, which guarantees that security to us. But the truth about the complexity of the international situation, as well as about the explosive connections between the progress in arms technology, the crisis of the world economy, and the systemic rivalry among countries at various geographic locations--a rivalry which for imperialism spells the desire to regain its old hegemony over the world--finds its way among the Polish people as well. In my opinion, this is the point which, in our search for a common ground to achieve a national agreement, has the best chance to win a consensus.

The need for restoring Poland's previous position in the international scene is obvious. The government of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski has already done a lot for a gradual restoration of this position within our alliance. The seriousness of the international situation makes it obligatory for us to regain our previous opportunities for action in the name of peace, also on a broader international arena.

After the war Poland has been among the most active builders of the new peaceful order in Europe. We were among the founders of the European security conferences, and we had an impact on the Final Document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe /KBWE/. This document shows the code of behavior which ought to guide the activities of its signatories. If today our influence on the course of events has been weakened, the reason lies not in some changes in the foreign policy of our state--this has been and still is the most stable part of state policy as a whole--but in our internal disruption. That this disruption has had--and still does have--a close connection with an international intrigue is shown by activities undertaken by unfriendly governments, which aim at maintaining our internal conflicts. Unfortunately, the leading role in this endeavor is played by the present government of the United States, which usurps for itself the right to judge the actions of the Polish government in view of the American interests and needs with regard to its interactions with the Soviet Union, in particular, and with socialism, in general. Some pronouncements of the members of the French government are another example of astonishing behavior. We have learned from one of them that the lifting of martial law in Poland, the release of interned persons, and the broad use of amnesty, that all that "is not enough for the French government." So, here we go again with the same criterion: events in Poland ought to take a course which will "satisfy" a foreign government, representing its own interests and aiming at goals which have nothing in common with Poland.



And while talking about France, perhaps we should ask parenthetically our French friends--the same friends, who on West German territory so hotly support the forces in favor of the installation of new U.S. missiles--how they can reconcile their friendliness to Poland with the fact that the U.S. missiles in West Germany will be aimed at Poland as well?

Let us also add here that those West German politicians, who are the staunchest supporters of the installation of the new missile systems in West Germany, are at the same time in favor of undermining the normalization treaty with Poland.

Some western politicians, when making public statements about events in Poland in a spirit hostile to the legal Polish authorities, would like to influence Polish public opinion with varying results. We can only express our belief that the long tradition of friendship with the United States, France, and other countries of the West are incomparably stronger than the results of the current violations of established custom; or else the sanctions cannot be but a punishment for too-close contacts of the Polish socialist economy with the capitalist West, contacts established in the 1970's.

The crisis we have undergone, and whose effects will be with us for years to come, has no equal in the history of postwar Poland. It is the duty of all political and social forces with a sense of responsibility to actively support the current foreign policy of the state. The entire and broadly-understood front of international contacts ought presently to serve two goals: support of our state in its activities in the name of peace and security, and support the rebuilding of our economy. If with regard to these two fundamental issues the Poles took a common stand--regardless of the differences among them on other issues--our contribution to the strengthening of peace in Europe would have been much greater and we would have been neutralized all sanctions taken by the West which aim at Polish industrial production and at our standard of living.

The peace proposals expressed in the Prague resolution of the Warsaw Pact members are also Polish proposals. They are also our great common common opportunity. We ought to do everything in our power to make the Polish contribution to their realization the most significant possible. Our future is at stake as well.

Speech by Stefanowicz

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 1 Feb 83 pp 2-3

/Text/ Madam Marshall, honorable members of Sejm. Little can be added to the report of the minister of foreign affairs--approved by the PAX Deputies' Circle in its entirety--or to earlier presentations by the deputies. Neither we, nor outside observers are surprised by our common awareness of the threat to peace, security, and cooperation in Europe, the most serious in the last quarter of a century. Common also is the will to act to reverse that threat regardless of individual motivation, based on either national experiences and patriotic urges, socialist ideals, Christian values, or a harmonious

combination of all of these motivations, which is the ideological directive of the PAX movement. But in order to transform this desire into action it is not enough to want it, however; it is necessary to have a healthy understanding of what we can and we ought to do. The more premises that shape one's viewpoint the better, and therefore I will offer only a few reflections to this honorable Chamber. The following reasoning is quite common. The arms race is almost exclusively between the two greatest powers. Their comparable potentials create a durable, although unsteady balance of forces, which so far constitutes the best guarantee of peace, even if a very expensive and uncertain one. Their relations, confrontations or cooperation, adventurism or thoughtfulness condition the military future of the world, and particularly of Europe, and the role of smaller countries in this process is merely symbolic. This is a very simplistic reasoning, however. The security of the countries of the East and West has a collective dimension. Territories, population, as well as the internal and foreign policies of the allies of each of the superpowers have a fundamental importance for the stratification of forces and the direction of the international situation. The collective dimension is likewise represented by the Prague Declaration, of which Poland is a coauthor, and which may bring a serious turn for the better in East-West relations, particularly in the area of halting and limiting of armaments, thus opening the way to serious and successful negotiations.

The role of the individual allies in shaping the policy of a given alliance, and thus of international relations, is naturally uneven and changing. We know that the role of Poland, suffering from known severe internal conflicts, decreased in the years 1980-81. It decreased within the alliance and despite appearances outside it as well. For in the period of crisis Poland was for the West not just a subject of international relations, but also a burden for the Soviet Union and a source of unrest in Eastern Europe, as well as an arena for ideological warfare. This was a short-sighted view. Likewise short-sighted is the anger at the decisions taken by our authorities to save the state. It obscured the socioeconomic reforms, the realization of which ought to benefit not just us but our western partners as well, and the introduction of which nearly paralleled the above-mentioned decisions. Regardless of the point of view, Poland is more democratic, but strong, more pluralistic, but united by the commonality of state goals, and better organized and more efficient economically, but also socialist; it is a country which contributes to the development of all Europe as well as to the improvement of the prospects for all-European cooperation. I am not talking about the indefinite future, but about facts being already created. Already today the material for our new and original role in Europe is being created. Any one, who understands it faster and draws proper conclusions in the area of foreign policy will benefit himself and help the case of Europe.

A strong and healthy Poland, an ally of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries, needs Europe as an area of peace and security, economic cooperation, and spiritual environment. Europe needs such a Poland as an indispensable component of its identity, security, stability, and development. Of course, not the Europe of anticommunism and confrontation, but the one described in Spain by Pope John Paul II: "One with proper recognition of all of its differences, including different political systems," and acting in accordance

with the "fundamental statements contained in the universal and European Declaration on Human Rights as well as in the Final Declaration of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

Honorable members of this Chamber. Aware of this mutual dependence on each other we ought to judge from a distance, and view in proper perspective the anti-Polish policies of certain centers and even western governments. We must draw our conclusions from that, however. The problem of our foreign policy, both the old one as well as after the war--though perhaps, to a lesser degree--was that it clung too much to stereotypes. Rightful belief in the existence of certain long-term national interests--called *raison d'etat*--as well as of certain ideological attitudes which may either benefit or harm Poland, has not always been accompanied by pragmatic and sound judgment. It has not always been remembered that *raison d'etat* may be differently understood by groups and individuals in power, that words are not always followed by action--they may even contradict each other--and that states may conduct a two-track, ambiguous, and ever-changing foreign policy. The justifiably positive reception of the SDP-FDP coalition's "eastern policy" has obscured the truth that 5 years ago the head of that coalition amended the agenda of the NATO alliance with the intent of strengthening it by adding midrange missiles to its arsenal, which later led to the current great threat to peace. A similar reflection applies to the cardinal difference between the goals of policy, which 20 years ago led General de Gaulle to sign a treaty with West Germany, and the commemorative interpretation of that treaty by the present head of the French government.

Thus, while declaring our readiness to cooperate with every one, we ought to search with flexibility and dynamically for the most promising contacts with regard to Polish national interests as well as European interests. It is in this context that I wish to recall a direction in our foreign policy which was activated in the previous decade, but has since been somewhat neglected. I am talking about the Scandinavian direction. Several factors have been responsible for it. We had good experiences in the past. Shortly after the renewal period in the difficult months of 1945, we established strong economic and cultural contacts with the Scandinavian nations, which had been precipitated by their early recognition of our government of National Unity. However, the cold war adversely affected these contacts as well. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to mention that we experienced the least number of unpleasant incidents with the Baltic neighbors. They also approvingly reacted to the Rapacki Plan, which later gave an impetus to a similar Nordic concept. These countries have shown a considerable restraint in their reactions to the current Polish upheavals as well. Finally, there exists a strong feeling of community of interest and of interdependence among the Baltic-region countries, and there is a number of properly-functioning agreements covering that region. Therefore, there seem to be benefits in further activation of our relations.

After all, we are concerned about today and even more about tomorrow. Current geopolitics, viewed without imagination, has flattened Europe to a East-West axis, which contradicts its history, reality, and capabilities. Years ago, Polish lands were the intersection of three great trade and civilization trails: from the east to the west along the southern Polish border; from the northeast

to the southwest; and its symmetrical counterpart from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Perhaps it would be naive to expect Poland to become again the most important intersection of the European roads, not just in the literal sense as it was the case in the early years of our statehood. Nevertheless, a new look at the all-European network of connections and cooperation constitutes a serious and long-term opportunity which should not be neglected.

Esteemed deputies, the Prague Declaration correctly points out that currently global problems occur in acute form and affect the whole mankind; therefore, no region or social system is free of them. Europe also suffers from strong tensions. Most of its countries experience internal crises, rooted in socio-economic problems. Although they are difficult to compare in the material sense, their psychological and political consequences are both significant and troublesome. The question that Europe is facing now reads: Should we add to those crises a security crisis, resulting from the new phase in the arms race, and an interdependence crisis, caused by political and economic confrontations? Or, perhaps, we ought to opt for cooperation and a strengthening of interdependence in order to overcome the problems which will face us in the coming difficult years--the years of many frustrated hopes for the nations of both East and West Europe? The course of events and the final outcome of the interwar period unequivocally point to the right answer.

Madam Marshall, Mr Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland has the experience, moral authority, and intellectual potential which allow her to propose positive concepts of security and cooperation in Europe. But foreign policy does not depend on just good will and imagination, but also on effective persuasion. State power and consistent behavior are always the basic arguments. A skillful and varied diplomacy is their extension. We would increase its practical impact if the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a better use of our formula of a coalition government. I am talking about the personnel policy, which has been too monolithic, as well as about stronger promotion of "social diplomacy," that is, international activities of groups and individuals, who are outside the foreign service, but maintain broad and important international relations particularly with nongovernment organizations. We need that now more than before, when our relations with the western partners were better.

8609

CSO: 2600/340

## YOUTH UNION, MILITARY DISCUSS FUTURE COOPERATION

AU241353 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Stanislaw Kowalski report: "To Give Words Some Meaning"]

[Text] A meeting between the commanders of the Pomeranian Military District and the aktiv of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] has taken place in Bydgoszcz. The meeting was attended by Gen Bde Henryk Kondas, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission and deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military District Office of Political Affairs; Wieslaw Osuchowski, vice chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth; Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki, chairman of the Youth Council of the Polish Army; Lt Col Edward Kowalski, secretary of the Party District Committee; Capt Stanislaw Kuras, chairman of the Pomeranian Military District Youth Council; chairman of voivodship boards of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth; and their deputies for the affairs of military youth in the Pomeranian Military District. The aim of the meeting was to exchange experience on cooperation between the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and the union's military cells on the patriotic and defensive education of youth, to determine the range and principles of further cooperation along these lines, with particular regard to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Polish Army, as well as to appraise the results of the youth competition "We Are Strengthening the General Defenses of the Country."

The union's program of activity and the methods of implementing it in the field of the patriotic and defensive education of the youth, a program adopted on 5 October 1981 at a session of the Presidium of the Main Board of the union in Deblin, is a reflection of the importance of the union authorities attach to this problem. The patronage for, inter alia, the Higher Officers' Flying School was revived and the 10th edition of the youth competition "We Are Strengthening the General Defenses of the Country" was published with much enthusiasm, while the new 11th edition, which takes into account the current problems of consolidating public order, has been worked out and is already being implemented.

The patriotic and defensive education of youth, an important element of ideological and educational work, is not an easy thing today. The conditions which enabled the union to act have changed. The participants in the meeting stressed that--at a time of intense political struggle within the country,

as well as one of unprecedented escalation in the arms race by capitalist states—patriotic words must be full of meaning, express respect for one's work, a commitment to one's plant, one's region, respect for national symbols, for places stained with the blood of fathers and brothers and an understanding of the objective history of our country. Young people rarely are aware of the dangers resulting from the current international situation. This is why the union is faced with the urgent task of enlightening young people in every respect, including military matters.

We are probably the only country in the socialist community which does not have a patriotic-defensive program for educating youth, a program that complements and embraces all subjects, Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki said. A variety of ministries and social as well as youth organizations are concerned with these issues. However, these activities are not coordinated or controlled by anyone and are simply a matter of good will, which certain people lack. From this stems the union's proposal on how the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs should control these activities.

The army, Gen Henryk Kondas stressed, is an institution which has served and is still serving the young with an active, materially calculable assistance in shaping conscious, socially committed and civil attitudes. One can cite the successful scout campaign, "Summer-82", as an example. The Pomeranian Military District area is also an excellent testing ground for shaping historical awareness and patriotic values, whereas the initiatives made by young people, such as visits from combatants and occasional functions organized at national remembrance sites, as well as rallies along the route taken by the conquerors of the Pomeranian Bulwark, belong to the sure and tested forms of union activity within the district's units. Clubs of the Officer's Reserve and the Union of Former Career Soldiers have also pledged to help the cells and organizations of the youth union in the patriotic and defensive education of the young.

CSO: 2600/455

## ORZECZOWSKI ADDRESSES PRON COUNCIL YOUTH

AU151335 Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 9 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and member of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, at the 8 February Warsaw meeting with 23 ZSMP members of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]

[Text] Speaking at the meeting with the ZSMP members of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] Marian Orzechowski said he had a grudge against them for never mentioning at the council's sessions the problems they had broached at this meeting. There is no reason for young people to withhold their thoughts, he said, and asked them to participate actively in the work of the council. He admitted that the patriotic movement is indeed sometimes treated as a means to an end and in a showy way. These are serious dangers which must be opposed. M. Orzechowski also said that the patriotic movement treats the problem of elections to people's councils and the Sejm with seriousness. Staff work is in progress on a new electoral law. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is neither a temporary issue nor a tactical maneuver devised by, as some say, the "weakened" authorities who are seeking consolidation in this way.

The patriotic movement should be a permanent element in our country's political life. It should be an element of the strategy to consolidate socialism in Poland. This matter concerns the entire nation, not just a few chosen groups. The patriotic movement should fulfill four constitutional functions: It should participate in the creation of the law; advise on decisions, resolutions and laws; control the administration's conduct as well as law and order; and help create the electoral law and election program.

What are the current attitudes to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth? There are four which are typical. The opponents' attitude is, judging by the recent intensification of their attacks on the patriotic movement, that they perceive the great chance which the movement can offer socialism. The realistic attitude is the most correct, as it takes into account the perils which menace the movement, while also making out its enormous potential.

The attitude of indifference, which is the most frequent, is marked by its aloofness with regard to the movement. And the fourth attitude takes the orthodox and the dogmatic view of it.

We must be aware that this movement is a political experiment, M. Orzechowski said. After all, people with very different world outlooks are active in this movement, and their actions are guided by various motives. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is a great opening for nonparty people. It is therefore an enormous experiment, an opportunity. There is really no question of showing off.

Marian Orzechowski then spoke about the problems relating to the National Unity Front [FJN]. This movement is already stepping down from the political stage. It still has about 300,000 active members, and it is this human aspect which must be taken into consideration. An appraisal of the National Unity Front that is often uttered by the young was coined in 1980 and is one-sided. The National Unity Front, particularly at the beginning of its existence, performed a very positive role, undertaking many valuable campaigns and initiatives which are forgotten today.

It is now leaving the stage and must make an elegant exit, performed in accordance with the requirements of political culture.

CSO: 2600/456



## INTERNATIONAL YOUTH EDUCATION CONFERENCE BEGINS

AU041759 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Report signed "(Daw)": "How To Educate"]

[Text] Tuesday, 1 February was the first day of the international study conference, "The Communist Education of the Youth. Ideals--Practice--Projections," organized by the Center for Youth Problems Research and run by the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP]. It is being attended by research workers and activists from youth organizations in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, the Soviet Union and Poland. Deszek Miller, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Team for Youth Affairs, was present at the start of the discussion.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, discussed at length the situation in the Polish youth movement and the resulting problems in ideological and educational work.

Our organization has been subjected to a difficult trial in the face of the surging wave of counterrevolution, he said. In Poland in the past, the activities of political opponents were aimed at divesting the party of its support from the masses. The most severe blow was directed at the young. Attempts were made to inject many antisocialist, anticommunist and anti-Soviet theses and views in their minds. Attempts were made to deprive them of their faith in our ideology and urge them to show at least some passive resistance to the authorities. We are experiencing the bitter effects of this propaganda even now. But the young people who remained in the Union of Polish Socialist Youth passed a very difficult test. They had to make an important choice, carefully weigh all the arguments and ask themselves if and why they want to belong to a socialist organization. This process consolidated the ideological nature of our 2-million-strong organization in a very important way.

The main problem before the union now is the activation of wide sections of young people in order to give them the feeling that they have a real influence on the future of their enterprises and the entire country. In saying this, Jerzy Jaskiernia referred to trade unions, workers' self-management bodies and the cells of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which are the best means to exploit youthful energy and aspirations.

The next speaker, Dr Bronislaw Ratus, rector of the Higher Pedagogical School in Bydgoszcz, described the theory and practice of socialist education.

He drew attention to the deficiencies in the existing educational system, as well as to the present reevaluation of its aims. After analyzing the effects of the sociopolitical crisis, he came to the following conclusions. First, the Polish crisis has revealed that a very profound process has taken place whereby workers and other groups of working people have recognized the values of socialism. However, the political opponent has adopted the system's main slogans as his own, a task in which he was excellently aided by the paralysis of the party and its ideological mistakes. In the opinion of B. Ratus, there was no compromise of socialist ideological assumptions in Poland, although this did occur in their practical implementation. However, the crisis revealed that even in a country which has reached a highly advanced level in the development of socialism, it is possible for a bitter class struggle to take place in the sphere of ideology and politics, and for patriotic and nationalistic slogans to be exploited against the socialist state.

Nikolay Sleptsov, deputy head of the Komsomol Central Committee Department for Young Cadres, was the first foreign representative to speak.

In his report, "The Communist Education of Youth Under Conditions Constantly Aggravating the Ideological Struggle," N. Sleptsov discussed the chief ways in which Western propaganda attempts to weaken people's ideology in the Soviet Union and other countries of our community. One way of opposing these attempts to disrupt our system is to put particular emphasis on the education of the young generation. A thorough knowledge of history, social sciences, ideology and the problems of the modern world protects young people against the demagogic propaganda of capitalism and facilitates an ideological choice. N. Sleptsov also gave many examples of how the Soviet Union strives to develop the young people's sense of respect for work and to foster their conviction that they play an important role in building their country. We place the most important investments in the hands of the young, as it is they who will decide the future of the people and of communism.

CSO: 2600/453

CAREER, DUTIES OF NAVY FROGMAN COMMANDER DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8-9 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Capt Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "Underwater Reconnaissance"]

[Text] The small cutter tosses and pitches on a large wave. On its deck, Lt Comdr Marian Szybkowski prepares the next frogmen-mine warfare personnel to submerge. Everything is ready: the screws on the headsets are tightened, the airhoses are connected, and the divers submerge...

Navy frogmen. What do we know about this specialty? We have heard here and there that they remove pieces of wrecked boats from the sea, that they build wood, concrete and steel structures. They weld and saw, destroy and build. But what, really, do we now about them? Those with a greater poetic bent call them the knights of the deep. This is a nice description--perhaps even adequate to the heavy, dangerous, fraught with difficulties, work. But there is also a lot of mystery and romance in this duty.

I became interested in this military specialty when the port captain, in speaking of his professional problems, suddenly said: "Yes, of course, we here in the port realize that the Navy is charged primarily with tasks relating to defense. But in emergency situations, and really I will say this openly, in a situation in which we can literally do nothing, or almost nothing, what are we to do? We turn to the Navy. And they have never yet refused us anything.

The military has its own rescue ships, its own marine guard. It has divers and combat engineers. If, for example, we want to explode something in the water, we call upon the military. When some damaged underwater pipe has to be replaced, or some heavy objects have to be raised with the use of compressed air, we also turn to the military. When we recently looked along the roadstead for an anchor that had broken off, no one was able to find it. But the Navy found this anchor and removed it. Underwater welding, cutting--that, too, is their specialty."

I heard that in the Navy this person "who can do everything" is Szybkowski and his people.

I had already imagined that I would meet a "sea wolf", with a long beard and a Baltic-weatherbeaten face, and here I found myself looking at a lieutenant commander, still

young, for he is barely 35, who is giving commands in a lowered voice. Well, I think, that's all right too. Maybe even better...

Training is underway. The ship sways on a good-sized wave. The commands continue.

#### The Frogmen Submerged

and Lt Comdr Szybkowski shows me his home on the sea. His second home...

On deck--the diving gear. I examine all of this with great curiosity: the rubber diving suits, the coils of hoses and ropes, the lead-fitted shoes, and the shiny helmets with glass portholes.

--But all of this, I remark, is very heavy!

--Yes, Szybkowski agrees. --A diver's outfit weighs about 100 kilograms. This is not a specialty for weaklings...

I look more closely at Szybkowski. An impressive figure, but this is not what is most important in him. What, anyway, is most important in a person? Seventeen years of sea duty in a Navy uniform. Is this a lot, or a little? These years of service--honest, diligent service, a way of life, politeness, friendliness--all of this has brought him a large circle of friends. He is respected for his knowledge, for his reliability. That is important. But how did he begin? Where was he, before he came to the sea?

Anyone who has seen the Klodzko Valley knows how beautiful it is ~~there~~. And it is ~~there~~, in Miedzygorze, that Marian Szybkowski was born. His father, a forester, taught him a love for the forest, for his native land. And so they both, together, came to know what to this very day they feel is most important--nature. Because a person, it seems, should not only be able to think, but he should also be able to sense the beauty of the land, the smell of the forest and the flowers, the beauty of everything that this land, his native land, produces. As Marian grew up, he lacked just one thing in discovering and knowing the picture of Poland--the sea. What is it like? He knew the mountains. But what is the Baltic like?

And so he came to the Coast. And stayed. And he says now, after many years, with no embarrassment, that he fell in love with the sea. After all, he could not have stayed if it had not enchanted him--a young, new high-school graduate. And so it happened that he saw no other, better way for himself than through the Naval College. He made the decision and returned home to announce that henceforth his life will be bound up with the Coast. His father, a former partisan, a soldier in the Second World War, and only later a forester, praised the choice. He already knew that his son will become an officer in the Navy. And that, after all, would bring him honor.

Four years of study passed. Ensign Marian Szybkowski reported for duty on a rescue tug to continue his further, already professional, military service.

Sea rescue. Rescue ships have special assignments to execute. They take part in various kinds of operations, they tow vessels that have gone aground, haul them to a specified place, and protect minesweepers. Each such operation reflects the great effort of all seamen who participate in it. But his service was made up of more than just "operations". Often they went to sea as an

#### Escort Unit

to protect a group of combat ships during exercises. Mostly they went to distant training areas. These were long tours of sea duty. They encountered difficult conditions on the open sea and always performed their responsible assignments. Szybkowski's ship escorted minesweepers and destroyers. Very simply, it provided security for the actions of other combat units.

The years passed. When a person proves himself in one kind of work, he wants to test himself in another kind. And that is also how it was with Szybkowski. Maybe he didn't want to get into a rut. And maybe the sea depths fascinated him.

After he already came to know the Baltic, its good and bad sides, after he had lived through the smaller and larger storms, the very difficult assignments on the sea, he was tempted to take a look into the heart of the sea. What is it like under the water? In the depths... He tried once, and then several times more, to descend to an ever-greater depth. It was beautiful, colorful, even fabulous. He observed this underwater world and could not stop wondering at its coloring. He enrolled in a course for frogmen and completed it with distinction. And so the road was already open for underwater excursions...

But then an opportunity came up by which it was possible for him to turn his passion into a profession, to combine his personal interests with the performance of service obligations. The position of commander of a group of frogmen-combat engineers became vacant just then. As the possible candidates were being considered, it turned out that Szybkowski was best qualified. And so he became a professional frogman.

Experience has shown that a frogmen-engineer group has many very responsible and important tasks to perform in the underwater world. This underwater world is not only mysterious, however, it is also threatening. One is afraid of it, yet one wishes to become familiar with it. And he must, if only because the waters of the sea hide many surprises, and among them are those left behind after the Second World War. The demand for soldiers who are specialists in underwater operations is not shrinking, therefore.

Szybkowski learned that where curiosity took him there was also risk. But he took the risks. He came to know the bottom of the sea, came across many different kinds of objects, including the deadly bombs.

He was guided underwater only by a compass and a depth gage. And his ever-greater

#### Self-Assurance

A combat engineer makes only one mistake, and he, and his subordinates, also, knew that he could never make a mistake. Not even once... And so with care and caution

but also with the sureness of his qualifications, he removed charges from the mines underwater, examined the moss-covered pipes and the metal of what was sometimes some kind of wreckage--of a boat, or a cutter. And while doing this he could look at the fabulous shapes of marine plant life. He could look at the different kinds of fish swimming by. Although it was not always fabulous and colorful.

Frogmen-combat engineers perform their tasks all year round--winter and summer. During the autumn overcasts and the January freezing spells. A solder always has his task, regardless of the season of the year, day or night. The seaman, frogman, combat engineer--also. It is even harder for him to do his work, because he is underwater, and the danger is greater there. Perhaps that is why seamen believe that a frogman should be synonymous with strength, health and courage. Because not everyone wants to jump into the water from a helicopter suspended several meters above its surface. Or would everyone want to come to the aid of a friend if he himself is in danger.

Szybkowski would probably smile at such talk. But it is true that only the healthiest and hardest stay in this service, those who are a match for the underwater elements, who want to learn its mysteries, and who are not frightened by its depths. Swimming skill alone is not enough, or even good health. The appropriate psychophysical characteristics are needed. And form, what one can do, all of this becomes apparent under the water, while submerged...

And so through the telephone switchboard loudspeaker we hear the frogmen's reports. They flow through the cable from the penetrated water bottom: weather good, visibility, good. At the rail of the cutter the signalmen stand watch, holding thick ropes. Next to them, other seaman hold the hoses which supply air to the underwater bottom. Training is proceeding normally? Yes!

Lt Comdr Szybkowski says that training subordinates to work well underwater takes time and effort. But we can guess that he does not begrudge either one or the other. His subordinates under water show trained movements and habits. Because underwater, while submerged, tasks must often be performed automatically--there is no time to think. After all, the worth of a frogman is proven underwater. At the cutter rail, activity. The divers are returning on deck. With obvious difficulty they climb up the steps of the ladder, and the water flows off the diving suits and huge shoes. Meanwhile, shortly their comrades will make their

#### Underwater Reconnaissance

This is arduous duty. But perhaps that is why it is more satisfying. It requires the greatest dedication. But isn't it that which counts most in life? Precisely this effort and this dedication. Whom does this serve? It is needed. It serves the country...

In the beginning this specialty seemed interesting to Szybkowski. For him, too, it was wrapped in mystery. The frogman receives an order to submerge and disarm something that is dangerous, that has been laying on the bottom since the days of the last war, and is a threat to human life. So he was drawn to what is interesting--and what is dangerous. Szybkowski and his men--the group--are always looking through and discovering different objects, and primarily, they are destroying sea mines.

The group is also comprised of a minesweeping party whose task it is to constantly clear the waters of dangerous materials. Ostensibly, the matter should be obvious. We have had 37 years of peace and time to make the waters safe. And yet they are not. We are constantly finding new surprises, some kind of unexploded shells or bombs, which, as a result of the movement of the water and sand become more threatening to navigation.

And aside from this, something unexpected always happens. For example, a heavy anchor broke off a commercial ship and only the Navy people were able to find it. And when the local authorities decided to start up a water mill, it turned out that there was some dangerous "junk" in the water. And again, the request went out to the military frogmen.

The captain of the port said: "In the winter, ships come into the port loaded with ore, and in the holds the ore is frozen. Of course, the combat engineers come in, because they know how to break it up. And when the seas freeze, we again call upon them. The port cannot be closed even for an hour, because, after all, everything here goes by rivers, both our transport and Czech transport, from the south to the Baltic. And in the reverse direction also, from the world to Poland. The seamen assist us in executing these extremely important tasks, including the frogmen-combat engineers from Lt Comdr Marian Szybkowski's group.."

9295

CSO: 2600/305

ARTICLE BY DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER BARYLA REPORTED

LD091852 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Feb 83

["Time of Accord, Time of Struggle"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Feb (PAP)--Under the above heading the Army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and the government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA publish a lengthy article by Gen Div Jozef Baryla, head of the Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces, deputy minister of national defense, and member of the Military Council for National Salvation. J. Baryla discussed various aspects of the decision to suspend martial law. He notes that it has initiated a new stage--a stage in which order needs to be imposed in Poland's internal affairs.

Unquestionably, martial law in Poland should be described as a revolutionary event because it has become a class-based mechanism for defense of the system, a necessary, justified and thought-out act for the salvation of the socialist motherland, J. Baryla writes. In accordance with logic, martial law was amended and finally suspended. The suspension, which is seen as a transitional period, opens a new chapter. Poland's resurrection and further development.

In political terms it means the rebirth and development of political life on three levels; national accord, strengthening the part as a leading and guiding force, and shaping the trade unions and self-government.

We are entering a period of recovery after a serious illness, J. Baryla writes further. Our strategic line is that of accord and struggle. This needs to be supplemented by the words of W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, who said the enemy is he who wishes to be an enemy. Can one imagine a clearer formulation? When we talk about the struggle, we have in mind the enemy's strategic goal: overthrow of socialism in Poland. We are convinced that the future will bring--given the unfailing assistance of certain imperialist governments--fresh changes in this adventurist line, new ways of playing the "Polish card."

J. Baryla goes on to note that the course of seeking anarchy and disintegration of the socialist state has collapsed. However, political struggle for the people's vital interests continues. The political opposition is trying



to use the period of suspension of martial law for new forms of action. But we will struggle against them and neutralize them. We must also take account of attempts to weaken the processes of stabilization and to belittle the achievements of the principal initiator and author of socialist changes--the party. The same could apply to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. The apostles of counterrevolution also may try to penetrate legal organizations. These manifestations can be minimized by struggle, by the actions of the people's patriotic forces and by restoration of the party's leading role.

The party is the key to national rebirth. It is gathering its strength and getting stronger in order that, in its new Leninist form, it can lead and at the same time serve the people and play the leading role in the state.

The party, together with trade union organizations and other public forces, is mounting an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of social sickness. It is rising up at the head of struggle for socialist democratization.

J. Baryla notes that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth can also play a big role in this and in rallying the public at large to overcome the crisis and the establishment of national accord. It should develop without outside instigation or pressure. There can be no room in it for those who wish to exploit the movement for struggle against socialism. On the other hand, there is a need to avoid dirigisme [dirizhirovaniye], superficiality and formalism in the functioning of the movement's links. Only if this is done can it become a catalyst strengthening the belief that the most important interests of the state, the people and the individual can only be realized in conditions of socialism.

The period of suspension of martial law, and also the coming months and years, will be marked by a struggle for socialist awareness, J. Baryla continues. It will take place at all levels of the state and the question of whether there will be communists prepared for the struggle will certainly be important. The main weapon will not be the argument of force, but the force of argument. We have arguments and there will be ever more of them.

All conflicts, above all the conflicts of the 1970-80 period, have a negative impact on awareness, which in this connection can easily be steered into a channel which undermines the people's authority which is being built up with such difficulty. Anti-Polish ideological subversion has inflicted considerable damage on the awareness of many Poles, above all of young people. The machinery of this subversion is still turning at full speed. Therefore, there has to be struggle to prove that there cannot and should not be contradictions between the socialist state and the people.

I think, J. Baryla writes, that three obvious and related truths have struck deep roots in the awareness of the majority of Poles. In the first place, the socialist system in Poland is a constant, immutable value which can fight effectively against the internal and external enemy. Poland is a link in an

alliance system (the Warsaw Pact, CEMA), and for this reason it can resolve its own problems by itself, without fearing threats from outside. In the second place, anarchy has no "right to exist" whatsoever in Poland. Thirdly, the "Polish question" cannot be a card in the hands of Western political speculators, being a matter for Poles themselves which exerts considerable influence on the development of the situation in Europe and the world.

The main factor, on which depends the success of the entire difficult operation by which Poland will emerge onto a straight path, is the functioning of the national economy. In this respect, it is essential to maintain the rhythm of production and to develop productive activity. Rectification and recovery of the national economy and overcoming the crisis are only possible within the framework of an economic reform which is being constantly perfected.

Gen Div Baryla went on to note that the Army still has an immense role in the new situation. "The Army is returning to the barracks": This is a correct statement but it should not be taken literally. The Military Council for National Salvation is a guarantee of the normal course of events during the period of suspension of martial law, a guarantee of the full normalization of life in the country.

We are standing, so to speak, on a bridge between the threats which have loomed over the mainstays of the socialist system and a real chance for the stabilization of life and national accord. Time has set us new tasks. But the need for vigilance and a sense of responsibility for the country has not decreased, J. Baryla writes.

CSO: 1800/769

DAILY WARNS AGAINST HOSTILE STRATEGY, 'PRIMITIVE DOGMATISM'

AU091420 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Feb 83 p 4

[Maj Henryk Slominski article: "After the Fourth Ideological Session of the Armed Forces--Party Ideological Integrity Has No Alternatives"]

[Excerpts] Press reports and party information on reports conferences in the PZPR no doubt continue to rivet the attention of party members and encourage personal and other reflections.

We cannot help noticing that the party organizations continue to sum up the first 2 years of their term in an atmosphere that is completely different from the one that prevailed in the country and the party during the reports campaign before the Ninth Party Congress and during the first months of implementing Congress resolutions. Many features color the new social, political and economic climate in which the party is accounting for its past activities.

The people and the party have gotten rid of their not always rational emotions which impoverished the class and Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the country's sociopolitical and economic events and of the party's situation. A decisive part of our people, especially party members, have freed themselves of their doubts concerning the antisocialist forces in our country.

Generally speaking, we can say that the process by which our state authorities, the party and the allied parties are regaining the trust of the people continues and that the consistent efforts for the sake of national accord are obtaining the correct civic importance within the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], the party, which was greatly distressed not so long ago, is closing its ranks, although not without difficulties, as signally demonstrated by the reports campaign.

These positive changes--we have reported only positive changes--in the past several months have taken place in the climate of the aggravating political-military situation in the world, the economic sanctions applied against our country and the West's propaganda aggression against Poland and other socialist countries, especially the USSR, which has been unleashed on a monstrous scale.

The changes effected in the country during martial law and, especially, the changes in the perception of more and more people are responsible for the fact that the external adversary is paying increasing attention in his propaganda aggression against Poland to the task of preserving at least symbolic nests of the political underground.

Aware of the role played by our armed forces in the struggle against counter-revolutionary threats and realizing that these forces are the main pillar of the power apparatus, our adversary also continues to attack these forces. However, despite unprecedented commitment of forces, resources and funds to support the subversive antisocialist and anti-Polish campaign against our country and despite his efforts to set up and activate underground structures, the adversary is unable to register any satisfactory results.

The new strategy of hostile activities directed at our people, which has been worked out and is being implemented, provides for comprehensive measures along two principal lines. One is to sow doubts in our people's minds as to the correctness and honesty of party policy and thus to create a new internal disarray, general chaos and anarchy in the country. The other line is to create illegal structures within the communities that have so far resisted such structures to implement through them the instructions issued by the hostile underground.

The aforementioned problem should make all Poles whose political thoughts are rational realize that protecting our people against the attempted influence of the political underground is not only the task of specialized state bodies and services. It is absolutely necessary for legally operating political, social, youth and other organizations, which consistently deprive the enemies of People's Poland of the base of social support, to be aware of the necessity for a uniform and comprehensive struggle against the political underground.

The problem of the political struggle in Poland will remain topical for some time to come, but it is difficult to specify for how long. Our adversary has been brought down, but we must realize that it is possible to deal out blows lying down. Martial law has not eliminated the threat to socialism in Poland. It has merely neutralized it to a great extent.

The Ninth Party Congress resolutions began the process of the rehabilitation of the party's ideological unity. However, there are people in our party who, motivated by various intentions, are hindering the party in its rebirth. Stilling their own ambitions and disdaining the objective interests of the working people and the state, they are trying to provoke factional strife within the party.

All the features of opportunism in the shape of ideological surrender and of struggle-free identification with the ideas that have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, despite the invocation of the principles of our ideology, are disturbing.

It is absolutely beyond any doubt that persistent conservative attitudes, which in some party communities assume the shape of primitive dogmatism, are harmful in their essence. One example of such attitudes and actions is the Rzeczywistosc Society of Sociopolitical Science, whose doings are increasingly acquiring the features of factional activities within the party. This is the aftermath of various concepts that functioned up to 13 December 1981 within the so-called seminars and some periodicals and clubs.

Some people belonging to the "Society" regard only themselves as the so-called true communists and are beginning to call themselves and their activities the "social movement." They are demanding guaranteed freedom of activities as representatives of the "Polist leftwing." In the present situation all discussions on the subject of who is a better communist indisputably weaken the party.

The policy of the Rzeczywistosc Society is explained in its numerous bulletins, which are full of attacks against the party, the armed forces and the militia. This policy was stated with special acuteness in the so-called letter that Comrade Tadeusz Grabski allegedly addressed to his parent party organization. This letter was in fact a programmatic manifesto, which was rapidly circulated throughout the country. It has also been avidly exploited by the propaganda of the hostile underground and the Western centers of ideological subversion.

It is regrettable that instead of using their passionate devotion to political activity to strengthen the party, the people who own party identity cards are doing just the opposite.

CSO: 2600/443

'MYTHS, REALITIES' OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23 5 Dec 82 pp 28-35

[Roundtable discussion organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and ERA SOCIALISTA with participation of professor Dr docent Ioan Ceterchi, professor Dr Constantin Vlad, professor Dr Ovidiu Trasnea, professor Dr Ivanciu Nicolae-Valeanu, lecturer Dr Victor Duculescu, Dr Constantin Ene, Dr Nae Androne, Dr Mihail Stoica, Dr Elena Florea, Aurel Cristescu and Cristian Ionescu: "Human Rights in the Capitalist Countries - Myths and Realities;" date and place not specified]

[Text] Ioan Ceterchi: The problem of human rights is today especially relevant and it involves ensuring the real affirmation of the human personality and the participation of the masses in both the solution of the problems of the contemporary world and the solution of the social, economic and political problems of each country. In the context of the ideological struggle in the contemporary world, we find that some ideologists and politicians in the capitalist countries present themselves as "defenders" of human rights. They claim that the Western political regimes, differing from those in the socialist countries, trule and consistently "ensure" civil rights, beginning with, among other things, the false premise that human rights can only be affirmed in societies founded on political pluralism and the existence of a number of parties. By generalizing this reality of the Western political system and attempting to also impose others, bourgeois ideologists try, at the same time, to hide the structural shortcomings of capitalism and the true face of human rights in this society.

The truth is, however, something other than that presented by the apologists of the bourgeois system. The socialist system is, by its own nature, a social system superior to the capitalist system, a system based on exploitation and oppression. Even if under the conditions of socialism there were and still are some shortcomings and some incomplete aspects, nonetheless only socialist society, as the facts show, can truly ensure the fulfillment of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

Furthermore, under the conditions of capitalism, human rights have remained at the level of formal representations that have been surpassed by life. Western theories referring to human rights continue to place stress, first of all, on the formal and legal aspect of these rights, either when there is mention of their

creation in domestic constitutional documents or when there is mention of their proclamation in international documents. Thus, they lose sight of the fundamental problem of guaranteeing and truly ensuring human rights, in other words, the ties and relationships between the formal-legal proclamation and the specific reality. Actually, this lack of agreement is understood even by some Western theoreticians. The indissoluble link between the rights written down in normative documents and the realities of daily life can exist and can be ensured, first of all, only through a guarantee of an economic and social nature. It cannot be fully achieved in the capitalist countries, even if certain elements and certain attempts are sometimes present in political programs or governmental actions, in specialized studies and so forth. Actually, the political and legal system in the capitalist countries is inappropriate to the true affirmation of human personality and dignity.

Giving priority to political and civil rights of a formal nature, a series of Western theoreticians "lose" sight of the need to ensure economic and social rights and the fundamental human rights and freedoms, rights which, under the conditions of contemporary society, have a collective nature and depend upon the solution of certain global, fundamental problems of the contemporary world. First of all, we are speaking of the right to life and to exist under conditions where the world is threatened by a nuclear catastrophe that can place a question mark on not only certain rights and freedoms, but on the existence itself of human beings. On the other hand, it is clear that the problem of exercising certain political and civil rights cannot be put into real terms as long as there are social inequalities and gaps between the rich and the poor, as long as there are no assurances for the material conditions that are elemental to fulfilling these rights and, above all else, the conditions for the real provision of rights to work, to education and health and to education and culture.

Has any West European government succeeded in developing an educational system capable of stopping, for example, drug trafficking and of alienating a significant portion of the youth? Is this "democracy" so often cited by the Western political circles compatible with maintaining social inequality and social and nationality discrimination? Without a doubt, no! And, what real value can there be in political rights when the voter is seriously effected by the acute phenomena of the economic crisis, unemployment, escalating terrorism and violence, when his physical existence and integrity are threatened by a wave of crime? Can the electoral options of the masses be somehow sufficiently answered by the carrying out of the political programs of the person for whom they voted? Are the citizens in capitalist society somehow given the right to participate in social affairs, beyond "participating" in the activities of an enterprise where they risk at any moment being laid off? How can the electorate noticeable influence the economic policy of a country which, year after year, cuts its social expenditures? These are some of the questions which the Western political systems and their supporters cannot answer satisfactorily.

Ovidiu Trasnea: For my part, I would like to begin with a methodological principle of Marxism - evaluating social phenomena in close connection with

specific-historical conditions. In this spirit, as a form of social development democracy must also be conceived as a gradual historical process that has been developed in specified historical steps, experiencing modifications and changes from one step to the next. If we were to try to accept a contrary position, we would be wrong and, in this case, our criticism of the state of affairs in one country or another would appear to be a type of subjective rebuff and not a criticism working on the basis of scientific criteria. Why? Because we know that each society, each social system achieves its policies according to certain axiological options and certain values. These options are not accidental and even less arbitrary. They are historically determined by the stage which this society represents in the evolution of humanity. The perspective of historical approach shows us, thus, that at each given moment democracy - and within its framework, the aspect of human rights and freedoms - inevitably bears the imprint of and suffers the limits imposed by the different stages of this development. Democracy, therefore, is part of the trajectory of historical evolution, being a component and a factor of this evolution. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We regard the development of democracy as a historical process, including under the conditions of a socialist society." And, precisely under such a historical view, it is necessary, I believe, for us to evaluate what bourgeois democracy represents and what it can objectively achieve in the area of human rights and freedoms.

Another idea that I would like to stress is that the current moment in which we are discussing the problem of human rights is very significant. On one hand, this is so because the propaganda war that has attained the dimensions of a crusade against socialism on the subject of human rights and freedoms is not limited to elements of doctrine and purely theoretical aspects, but instead it has especially taken on the nature of a directed offensive that is being carried out in a concerted fashion at the state level by international organizations, certain conservative parties and so forth. On the other hand, thus, we are facing - at least with regards to some of the developed capitalist countries - a concerted attack against the workers' rights and freedoms and against what they have won through their struggle during the post-war conditions. In my opinion, it is very significant that the attack on socialism is linked with the resurrection and revival of classical liberalism not only as a doctrine, but also as national policy. And, what does this revival of liberalism mean? Clearly, a turn back towards from what was achieved under the pressures of the masses' struggle, especially with regards to social rights.

Certainly, liberalism meant an important step in human emancipation. Let us not forget also that the constitutional right, which contains the chapter on human rights and freedoms, was developed under the influence of liberal ideology. But, bourgeois liberalism itself represents a stage that must be viewed as a denial of that which existed earlier. Benjamin Constant said, in regards to the two types of freedoms - ancient and modern - that "in its ancient form the individual was nearly always sovereign in public affairs, but a slave in all his private relationships," while in its modern form, on the contrary, "the individual, who is independent in his private life, is,



even in the freest countries, sovereign only in appearance." And, the current return to this concept with regards to the affirmation of human rights and freedoms is very significant: capitalism currently is tempted not to develop the positive elements that it was able to achieve in this area during its historical development, but rather to limit them and even cancel them.

What is actually happening? There is a restatement of the negative concept regarding freedom, as a lack of restraints, and the crisis of the state is invoked in order to proclaim the perennial nature of capitalism. The state is denounced as the cause of all evils, with the state being the factor that suffocates private initiative. Thus, the capitalist crisis is converted into a crisis of the bourgeois state. This is the source of the explicit orientation against rights and freedoms and especially against those of the working class and the workers. A single example - tax reform in favor of capital and a 40 percent decrease in social program allocations in the United States.

Mihail Stoica: One of the social categories powerfully affected by the current crisis of capitalist society, in the sense of the subject discussed by comrade Ovidiu Trasnea, is the young generation. In this area, the crisis is expressed in the massive reductions in funds for higher education, increases in school taxes and a reduction in the future hopes for professional advancement. Thus, although "free access" is proclaimed for education at all grades in the capitalist countries, a series of barriers of an economic, social, geographic and sexual nature block training opportunities, especially for young people coming from the ranks of the working class, peasantry and poor classes. In the countries of the West European Common Market alone, for example, there are currently over 10 million illiterates, while in the U.S. there are approximately 23 million. Entrance fees for higher education have experienced a rapid increase: in the U.S., in the last 5 years they have increased by 40 percent, in Belgium by 100 percent and in Japan by 23.8 percent. As a result, the percentage of workers' children in higher education has gone down year after year. Today, this percentage is approximately 6 percent in Holland, 7 percent in Norway, 8.5 percent in the FRG and 10 percent in France. The rapid increase in inflation and the economic recession in the capitalist countries lead, at the same time, to an important level of young people quitting school. In addition to all this, there are the problems that stem from access to housing, culture, sports, rest and recreation. While numerous buildings stand unrented for over 10 and 15 years, a very large number of young people, including many single persons, cannot manage to find their own place to live. In the FRG, for example, there are approximately 700,000 such housing units. This situation forces many young people in the FRG, Holland, Switzerland and other countries to occupy unused buildings as a sign of protest.

Trasnea: Actually, the examples presented here, as well as numerous others, serve to confirm the fact that, especially under the conditions of the current crisis, it is no longer possible to have a positive concept about human rights in the spirit of capitalism. For that reason, it is more than significant to

see the return in the Western countries to the idea of "equal chances" under the conditions of an accentuation of socioeconomic inequalities. This is precisely so because, as Irene Birnbaum also noted, "the equality of chances" has always meant merely "a myth that facilitates a consensus in favor of the ruling social categories."

On the other hand, the sternness with which this political attitude is expressed within the framework of the new liberalism (which is nonetheless also achieved through state measures, measures which, therefore, are contrary to their own precepts) reminds us of a reality that has been revealed by many, but which, it seems to me, was expressed by Marcuse in a very relevant manner. He said, "The exercise of rights and freedoms is a relatively simple question up to the point where democracy does not represent a threat for the existing social, economic, political and cultural institutions, but only up to this point." In other words, up to the point where it does represent a threat to the "establishment" and to the dominant position of the bourgeoisie. This is also the source of the limits of the classes in bourgeois democracy and of its meaning, one directed towards limiting the masses' participation in the leadership of social affairs.

And, since I have come to the problem of participation, which is essential in the context of democracy, rights and freedoms, I would like to make some statements in connection with political rights. It is known that the bourgeois political doctrine and practice tend to reduce the idea and reality of public rights to the problem of representative democratic mechanisms. And, what has been found in recent times is precisely the ever more accentuated crisis of the representative system or, as some Western politicians and jurists note, the fiction of the principle of representation. This is also the source of the revival "of the creation of a new representative system." With regards to the possibility of "going beyond" the framework of the representative system through "participation," it is in the capitalist countries essentially limited in its scope (and level of expression), content and efficiency. Furthermore, "participation" is conceived as a means of social integration and as a factor for ensuring "social peace."

Precisely from these summary statements, it can be seen, I think, that democracy and human rights under capitalism have real, objective limits. Going beyond these limits is historically necessary and this is the historical purpose of socialism. These limits are also sometimes understood by non-Marxist theoreticians. Thus, the renowned professor of economics and sociology at Harvard University, Charles Linblom, stated on the occasion of a symposium organized by the North American magazine COMMENTARY: "Capitalism is a barrier in the path of the full development of democracy because of the system of inequality in the distribution of power;" by power, however, we also understand the source of power: economic, political and moral sources. As Maurice Duverger said long ago, as long as the main weapon of political struggle remains money, "under conditions of the relative pauperization of the working class," the alienation that results from the transfer of surplus value is not only economic, but also political, with the worker being deprived of a weapon for influence and, as a result, social and political emancipation."

Victor Duculescu: In connection with the current propaganda campaign against socialism on the subject of human rights, referred to by comrade Trasnea, I would like to state the following. As is known, in recent times in both specialized publications and in official positions in the Western countries there have been attempts to theorize the "right" of certain countries to intervene in order to ensure respect for "human rights" in other countries. In this regard, they also invoke "the historical traditions of freedoms" in certain countries and direct them to evaluate the "standard" for these rights as they are applied in practice in other countries. Similarly, they talk even more about a true "tactic" to follow in order to ensure "respect for human rights (certainly, in countries other than those where the authors of these statements come from), recommending all kinds of methods and even suggesting the inevitable use of force in order "to protect and extend the frontiers of liberty." They attempt accredit the idea that actually the key points of an "efficient human rights policy" are based on the relationship between "force, freedom, morality and power."

Of significance for the redefinition of the elements of a "human rights policy" are the criticisms of the neoconservative circles directed at the policy of the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who is criticized for having done "too little" in this problem and, especially, for having given more help to certain autocratic regimes, as if they could have been "saved" from the movement of historical evolution. And more surprising is the fact that some circles in the West, not at all understanding the essence of the human rights problem in the context of the concerns for building a climate of peace and security in Europe, seek to project priority into false humanist problems, boldly rejecting any call for serious discussions related to the basic, vital problems - of peace and disarmament, of eliminating any type of nuclear missile from our continent. In this context, it is even stranger to see the proposal "to ensure individuals' rights to express their opinions in connection with their own government's adherence" to the Final Act, a proposal advanced by some circles in the West as an "absolute priority" and presented as a true "panacea" for resolving problems of international security and cooperation.

It is certain that the use of the human rights problem in order to justify the interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to exert pressures upon the governments of certain countries has nothing in common with an authentic humanist policy. A humanist policy is inconceivable without an understanding of the rights that an individual has, together with the entire people to which he belongs, to freely establish a certain political option and to select by himself a path of development. Actually, the discussion of certain political systems in some countries under the pretext of "humanism" is in itself profoundly anti-humanist because it denies an individual's right to a political organization.

On the other hand, if one truly wants an authentic "human rights policy," why not work to concentrate the energies and attention of the international community upon the true human problems that are currently awaiting resolution:

peace, security and the elimination of the state of underdevelopment from which two-thirds of humanity currently suffers? I believe that the "human rights policy" would be much better understood and much better served if those politicians in the West who show so much interest in this subject did not direct their attention towards collateral or insignificant problems and would stop using human rights as an opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and truly concentrate their attention upon certain real aspects of life that really call for an effective and involved support from the international community.

Constantin Vlad: I will begin by expressing my agreement with comrade Trasnea's opinion whereby the problems regarding human rights must be examined in the context of the society we are discussing and the stage of development through which this society is going. Actually, this means satisfying a basic methodological requirement of Marxism. In a general sense, I am talking about outlining an historical aspect of the perpetual relationship between the individual and society, between the individual and "civil society" and between the citizen and the state.

Actually, the problems regarding human rights under capitalism - more precisely, under contemporary capitalism - bear the stamp of this society, with their nature and significance being determined by the conditions in which this society is developing. In this context, we must, I believe, discuss human rights in their connection with power and with the effective holding and exercise of power in society.

First, there is a close relationship between the rights of individuals and the economic system, in other words, the fundamental type of economic relations and the ownership of the means of production under capitalism. I say "under capitalism" since under current conditions in the capitalist countries the economic system as remained the bourgeois one. I am not ignoring the evolutions that have occurred in economic relations over the recent decades and, in this context, I stress that I do not underestimate the significance and consequences, for example, of the nationalizations that have been achieved on democratic bases, both through their social effects and through the creation of certain conditions that favor the struggle of advanced forces to go beyond capitalism in the future. But, such evolutions have not changed the nature of capitalist ownership or the type of economic relations characteristic of the bourgeois system. This fundamental reality determines the content and class nature of individuals' economic and social rights and places its stamp on the overall rights and freedoms proclaimed in the capitalist countries. This reality generates such phenomena as the flagrant and worsening inequalities, mass unemployment and so forth. This same reality also explains the trend of bourgeois political thought of isolating political freedoms from economic and social rights and of underestimating the place and role of these rights in the overall group of democratic rights.

Second, the problems regarding human rights cannot be understood, in my opinion, except in the context created by the situation existing in the area of political

power, by the nature and role of the state and by the political struggles as a representation of class struggle. I am not proposing an analytical look at the evolutions of the status of contemporary capitalism, something which would go beyond the scope of our discussion here. For that reason, I am merely referring to the practical findings, as attested to by numerous scientific studies, according to which the capitalist state was and remains by virtue of its nature and functions and its true essence a power of the bourgeoisie. Beginning precisely from this fundamental given, we can understand what is happening in the area of the mechanisms by which the ruling class protects and promotes its position and interests and ensures maintaining the ranks of the capitalist society. We can also understand the means through which it, by using the levers of power, "absorbs" political shocks and "administers" tensions and conflicts, maintaining them within "tolerable" limits and combining brutal repression with the subtle and not so subtle "manipulation" of awareness, and not just awareness.

Within this framework, we must also look at, I believe, the problem of political pluralism in contemporary capitalism and the multi-party system, as one of the expressions of this pluralism. This pluralism is a natural thing in a society whose economic system, social, political and cultural structure, and ideology are characterized by the presence of certain opposed social classes and groups and social antagonisms that are seeking, without always finding - like they pretend, forms of expression in all the areas of social affairs. The factors that determine social antagonisms and social-political pluralism also determine the convergencies and divergencies, agreement and conflicts in the area of human rights. The ruling bourgeois class conceives these rights within the limits of a given system while the working class, the workers and the social and political forces interested in going beyond capitalism see in democratic rights and freedoms the paths and means that will favor the struggle in order to succeed in going beyond them. Certainly, this aspect deserves an encompassing analysis. Here, however, I merely want to mention the fact that what is called human rights under the conditions of contemporary capitalism cannot be conceived without the struggle of the democratic forces against the authoritarian trends of the different circles of capitalism.

Duculescu: Continuing on, I would like to make some remarks in connection with the recent evolution of Western concepts and theories regarding the human rights problem. I think that that comrade Ioan Ceterchi was right when he pointed out at the beginning of our discussion that human rights in the capitalist countries have remained at a level of representation that has been exceeded by life. Despite the new historical realities which call for a qualitatively different approach to this problem in the spirit of the aspirations of the broad masses and all the categories of workers, the concepts regarding human rights, as supported by Western authors, are still centered, for the most part, on the "contradiction" between the individual and the state and on the artificial separation of political rights from economic rights, with there being sufficiently frequent attempts to reduce economic, social and cultural rights to the level of certain simple "aspirations" or "proto-rights." Such concepts clearly deny the spirit of the international documents approved by the United Nations which unequivocally assure all the categories of rights, giving them equal legal status, and

artificially attempt to move the fundamental problems of human rights towards certain marginal or collateral aspects, ignoring purposely the great social problems that are waiting to be resolved in the Western countries.

It is interesting to observe that with regards to fundamental human rights the theories of "natural rights" are today being revitalized on a broad scale in bourgeois literature. This phenomenon is not a casual one if we think of the fact that in the classical theory on human rights such rights were tied to the "natural" achievements of the individual, which the individual would not lose at the moment of his entry into an organized collective. But, "the theory of natural rights" cannot explain things satisfactorily when we are talking about economic and social rights, rights that did not appear prior to the individual's entry into a certain group, but only by way of the actions that he carried out within the framework of a group. This is also the source of the tendency to deny the existence of economic rights, which - they state - would be difficult to include in the pre-existing type of "natural rights" of the individual. Also significant for recognizing the shortcomings of the theory of "natural rights" as a basis for human rights is the attempt of certain specialists to seek other explanations, such as, for example, the theory of "social justice" - according to which the principles of justice would actually express the concept whereby social institutions - clearly, those in Western societies - could be viewed as legitimate from a moral point of view. (In this regard, one can see, for example, the opinions put forth by Charles R. Beitz in the study "Human Rights - Social Justice," as quoted, commented on and criticized by Jack Donnelly in "Human Rights and Natural Rights" in HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTERLY, Vol 4, No 3, August 1982, pp 391-405.)

In addition to the already-mentioned opinions of certain essentially conservative jurists who are promoting an artificial and retrograde view regarding human rights, there is also a series of new concepts which denote some changes in the manner of approaching these rights. Thus, for example, in a magazine published by the Institute for Research On Peace in Tampere (Finland), there is recognition for the idea of the right to peace. The author of a serialized study in the journal of this institute, Katarina Tomasevski, supports the idea of the existence of a right to peace, arguing that this is based on "the value of human life and the irreversibility of its loss" ("Current Research on Peace and Violence," 1982, No 1, p 44). Even the much proclaimed "right to emigration," about which a series of circles in the West is making such a big case, is subjected to certain realistic and sufficiently critical evaluations by scientists. Thus, Frederick G. Whelan, a professor at the University of Pittsburg (U.S.), although adopting a position generally favorable to recognizing this right, seriously points out that the immigrant actually is confronted with two great difficulties: there is no corresponding obligation on the part of other countries to receive those citizens who leave their own country and the natural requirement of the principle of sovereignty that is widely recognized today in the world with its corollary - the obligation of each



individual to be loyal to the country to which he belongs as a citizen ("Citizenship and the Right to Leave" in THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, Vol 75, Sep 1981, No 3, pp 636, 651).

Such points of view demonstrate that the broad circulation of the Western concept regarding human rights is not limited to just the field of political scientists and jurists, but are also taken up in a distorted view and promoted at the level of certain governments as a means of interfering in the internal affairs of certain countries. Such theories do not, in fact, have a solid theoretical basis, with these theories being contested and subjected to critical re-evaluations even by a portion of the specialists in these countries.

Ivanciu Nicolae-Valeanu: Under the conditions of capitalist society, I feel that human rights are passed through the filter of certain systems of interest contrary to progress and the human condition in the natural acceptance of these rights, deforming the picture of them. In this regard, I would like to refer to the manner in which Western societies "ensure" one of the fundamental human rights - the right to work.

The capitalist system in fact influences the use of man's labor to increase profits. This truth has been recognized more than once - directly and indirectly - even by representatives of bourgeois economic science. J. M. Keynes, for example, in his basic work, "The General Theory on the Use of Labor, Interest and Money," based the policy of conditioning the investment of capital and the creation of jobs upon ensuring a high rate of profit. In other words, if you want to have jobs, then you accept that the monopolies - with the direct support of the state - will take an increasing portion of the national income, providing them with a high rate of profits.

These policies of a Keynesian inspiration, no matter how much they have been amended by way of P. A. Samuelson's "neoclassical synthesis" or R. Barre's "policies of incomes" or the idea of the "stop and go" tactics, have not been able to offer lasting, efficient solutions for the unemployment problem. Resolving them to a certain degree and for limited periods of time concerning certain problems of employing the workforce, they have fueled the aggravation of those contradictions that have increased the instability of the Western economies. And, at a given point in time, they have also caused unemployment, crises and inflation to become especially acute, giving content to that precarious state called "slumpflation."

Basically, the state of crisis, extended recession and unemployment in the West have reached colossal dimensions, frequently compared to those during the great crisis of 1929-1933. In the countries of the Western European Common Market, for example, there are officially 11.3 million unemployed persons registered, to which, according to some publications, one could add another hundreds of thousands of people who are not registered for various reasons. The forecast for 1985 is alarming: the number of official registered unemployed persons will reach approximately 15 million. The Ministry of Labor

in Japan estimates the number of unemployed in that country at 1.36 million. For the entire group of 24 developed capitalist countries, grouped together in the OECD [expansion unknown], unemployment has reached the sad record of 31 million people, with the officially registered level in the U.S. reaching 11 million unemployed persons, or 10.1 percent of the total labor force.

What does this actually mean? Tens of millions of people lacking the elementary right to work in the economically developed capitalist countries, where the production capacities exist, as well as the social-economic needs, but the capital and the need to have high profits are not in a position to ensure the full use of the existing labor force and they do not permit the creation of new jobs. Together with their family members, the 31 million unemployed form a colossal army of frustrated people totally approximately 100 million persons. Numerous studies show the social, psychological and other implications of a person not having the elementary right to work for long periods of time. A study drawn up by the National Council of Economic Opportunity in the United States points out that "for a 1 percent increase in unemployment there is a corresponding consequence on the social level: a 3.4 percent increase in patients interred in psychiatric clinics; a 4 percent increase in the number of suicides; a 2 percent increase in the number of deaths caused by heart, liver and kidney diseases; 4 percent in the number of inmates; 3.8 percent in the number of crimes; 3.7 percent in the number of muggings; and 8.7 percent in the number of arrests for drug crimes." Thus, the objective data illustrate the broad negative consequences of the systematic deprivation of a large army of people of the elementary and fundamental right to work and, implicitly, the right to a normal life.

Mihai Stoica: The current economic and social crisis dramatically affects the status and role of young people in the capitalist countries. It seems especially important to me to stress the fact that, in differing from previous periods of time when the economic difficulties merely touched certain elements of the social status and role of young people or merely different categories of the youth, currently the effects of the crisis have an overall, all-encompassing nature. To a greater or lesser degree, they impact upon all the young people in the capitalist countries and upon their working and living conditions, a fact which causes an ever increasing number of researchers to define the young people in the capitalist world as "the generation without a future." Certainly, things do not have to be of an absolute nature and we do not have to feel that currently all the young people in the capitalist countries are unemployed and are in a situation of those persons who are on the periphery of a profoundly unequal society. But, it is no less true that, in recent times, the young people in the capitalist world are faced with an ever increasing number of difficulties on the economic scene, as well as the social, political and cultural scene.

First of all, I would note that one characteristic of the situation of the young people in the capitalist countries is shown by the fact that unemployment is becoming more and more the new social identity for an ever greater



number of young people in these countries. Continuing the ideas developed here by comrade Nicolae Ivanciu-Valeanu, I would state that of the 31 million unemployed persons existing in the developed capitalist countries 40 percent are young people under 25 years of age. Just in the Common Market countries there currently are four million unemployed persons under the age of 25. Here, we must add the high rates of unemployment that have occurred recently among the ranks of young women and immigrants. In countries like Great Britain, Belgium and so forth, the percentage of unemployed among the ranks of women has increased two times over compared to that for men. The status of being unemployed is being acquired by an ever greater number of young people even before they can begin their professional life. For them, their first place of work is waiting in line at the placement agencies.

Another characteristic of the younger generation's current situation in capitalist society is the instability and precarious nature of the jobs for young people who alternatively experience for years on end periods of unemployment and periods of work. In not just a few enterprises, young people normally work in series production and on assembly lines where the jobs are monotonous and simple and do not require an advanced professional training. This fact brings about a sharpening of the contradiction between the young people's training and, implicitly, their expectations and the reality in the factories. Thus, in the FRG over 50 percent of young workers work in professions other than that for which they were trained.

The effects of the economic crisis and the pursuit of high profits cause the capitalist factories to increase the rate of labor and to frequently practice discrimination with regards to salaries, especially for young people. I would point out here that in the countries of Western Europe the salaries for young people are 50 percent smaller than those for adults for youngsters between 14 and 15, 40 percent smaller for those between 15 and 16 and 30 percent for those between 16 and 17. It is clear that the excessive intensification of labor and the poor protection for workers cause there to be an increased percentage of work accidents among the young people in capitalist factories.

On the basis of the economic and social alienation of certain important categories of young people in the capitalist countries, in recent years there has been a proliferation of numerous religious groups and organizations having a profoundly reactionary and extremist nature that divert the attention of these young people from the authentic political struggle and instill in them neo-fascist, reactionary ideas. The use of drugs, social disorientation, renunciation of political ideals and manipulation towards terrorist actions are merely some of the forms of the spiritual subjugation of young people promoted by rightist, reactionary organizations. It is clear to see the attempts of the neo-fascists to use in their own interests, on one hand, the natural aspirations of young people for innovative changes in society and their receptiveness to decisive actions to this end and, on the other hand, to profit from their lack of experience, promising them

the immediate satisfaction of all problems confronting the young generation on the condition that they enroll in the reactionary movement. We can ask the question: Are such phenomena of contemporary Western society perhaps compatible with the inherent rights of the younger generation? The answer can only be a categorical NO!

The uncertainties of the young people with regards to the future are also accentuated by the crisis of bourgeois culture and the system of moral values of capitalist society, a fact which accentuates the spiritual alienation of the younger generation and disorients it. In this regard, one evil influence upon young people is the publication in large numbers of cheap, decadent literature, the propagation of criminality and the presentation of movies and television shows of a pronographic nature, as well as those that present the violence cult.

Cristian Ionescu: Actually, delinquency and criminality, especially among juveniles, constitute a serious social problem that affects various categories of young people and whose spread is contributed to by the dissemination of a certain type of literature and the propagation of violence on television and at the movies. "These crime manuals, such as, for example, AMERICAN RIFLEMAN or NCA-JOURNAL, are studied by several million readers and in them they can find detailed analyses of all types of assassinations," and they can be found, under the title of "The ABC's of Crime," in the American publications NATION. Actually, the young generation is faced with the remains of an educational system that tolerates "the commercial practices" used in the trade of violence. The delinquency shown on the screen frequently "gets down" to the street, becoming the model of "entertainment" for certain categories of young people and a standard of behavior and means of getting beyond the status of "a generation without a future."

One of the reactions of public opinion in the capitalist world to the escalation in crime is fear, the feeling of insecurity in a "free" society, with "the great fear of the cities - as noted by the French publication L'EXPRESS - becoming one of the great national concerns after unemployment, inflation and inequality." A significant factor for the scope of this delinquency, as well as the "great criminality" that confronts the capitalist world and seriously affects the human situation and human rights, is the increase in organized crime, as well as political crimes. Criminality takes on new forms and reinforces its ties with terrorist actions and neofascist movements, which more and more resort especially to assassinations, terror, robberies and blackmail. As noted by the journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, there is an increase in the number of crimes that have a political or ideological motivation and a connection between the increase in crime and the activities of various extremist groups and religious sects. "Organized crime is powerful," noted the journal NEWSWEEK and Francis M. Mullen, a prominent official in the leadership of the FBI. He pointed out: "We cannot truly hope to completely eliminate it. We hope merely to diminish its influence." In referring to the same serious social problem, another American publication,

U.S. BUSINESS MAGAZINE, noted that in the United States of America "organized crime is probably the second largest industry in the country after the petroleum industry, with it having broad international ramifications."

As an acute and especially harmful phenomenon, crime has in its ranks hundreds of thousands of young unemployed persons who are on the periphery of a society that refuses to satisfy their elementary aspirations, first of all their right to work, to education and to training. This is recognized as such by criminologists, sociologists and jurists, but it is never presented - as should be the case in reality - as a violation of human rights.

The escalation of violence, especially political violence, is not, perhaps, a flagrant violation of human rights in these countries, of the right to free existence and to social safety? A world strangled by a rising wave of crime, as is the case in the Western world, is incapable of stopping the violence. This violence "is fed by the increased dissatisfaction of the poor people who are many times brutally separated from the "good" of capitalist society, which offers everything for those with a lot of money and only the light in the store windows filled with goods for those who are poor," as noted not long ago in the French daily newspaper LE FIGARO.

Trasnea: With regards to the problem related to the status of young people in the capitalist world, I would mention here an evaluation made by the renowned commentator from FRANCE CULTURE in a discussion organized several years ago in Athens concerning the future of democracy: "Western democracy no longer at all serves as an ethical reference for the young generations who grow up within it and who become indignant with the violence and inequality that our capitalist system can generate for them."

Nae Androne: An obvious violation of fundamental human rights is also present in the developed capitalist countries with regards to the immigrant workers and their families. In this regard, it is revealing, among other things, to note the conclusions of a broad study recently published by the American journal NEWSWEEK regarding the situation of immigrants' children in the Western European developed countries. "Overall in Western Europe there currently are 4.5 million children of immigrants, with an annual increase of 200,000... They cannot speak the language of the country to which their parents came seeking work and, thus, are not accepted in schools. Since they are uneducated they cannot find work." Even for those who finish school, the number of jobs is few and not immediately accessible," notes the magazine. This same publication also refers to the movement of young people of foreign nationalities that has taken place during the spring of this year in England as a result of the discrimination to which they are subjected, a fact that led to what the English press has named "3 days of racial war."

Do not the passionate Western "defenders" of human rights recognize, perhaps, these situations? And, how is it that the long list of human rights is missing most frequently precisely these aspects - the sad realities tied to the fate

of millions of people who live far from their own countries? It is clear that in this manner they try to avoid the real causes that created and maintain such acute realities.

Ioan Ceterchi: Actually, it is incontestable that millions of immigrant workers in the Western countries are deprived of elementary rights and have an inferior social status. Can one speak, perhaps, of respect for the fundamental rights of these people? Certainly not! Practice shows that the immigrants have obligations (especially social-economic and fiscal ones) at least equal to those of the native population alongside whom they live, but benefit from fewer rights than these others enjoy. Even those rights that they were formally given at a certain stage are no longer recognized today. And, we are not talking about a reduced number of persons, but rather millions of people who are accompanied by their families, with the majority of them being "second generation" immigrant workers.

Not by chance, the hostility towards immigrant workers is maintained and stimulated in some Western countries by a series of extreme right, neo-fascist organizations that are known for the nature and content of their anti-human and racist activities. Chanting slogans such as "Out with foreigners," "Stop the Immigrants," "Prohibited for Immigrants" and so forth, these organizations seek to instill this in public opinion that is dissatisfied with the ravages of the economic crisis, as well as a feeling of repulsion and adversity towards the immigrants who have been attracted over past years to the "Western European wealth." And, it appears that they sometimes succeed, since, for example, in the FRG the majority of the native population is hostile - according to certain surveys - towards the idea of the continued relocation of foreign workers in their country. Furthermore, some governments in Western European countries, as well as in the United States, have recently adopted new restrictive measures against these "second class people," as these immigrants are called, that are designed to prevent the influx of immigrants and restrict their numbers. These measures are added to certain legislation, also considered severe, that was adopted after the "second oil crisis" in 1979. In this situation, are we not seeing the blocking of the "right to immigration" about which the apologists of Western societies make such a big case?

Aurel Cristescu: The inhuman manner in which immigrant workers are exploited and under which they are not given the most basic rights was also broadly described in the study carried out by the United Nations and entitled "The Exploitation of Labor Through Illicit and Clandestine Trafficking," authored by Halima Embarek Warzazi, a special reporter of the Sub-Committee for the Struggle Against Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities within the framework of the U.N. Commission for Human Rights. As is pointed out in this study, "immigrant workers and their families are discriminated against with regards to the right to work, to equal pay, to housing, to social security and to culture, and, in general, with regards to all economic and social rights."

Duculescu: In connection with the discriminatory measures and policy adopted towards immigrants it should also be stressed that such expressions basically reveal the anti-humanist nature of the capitalist system. These people were used by the capitalist enterprises during a period of economic progress when their presence had been absolutely necessary, but actually they were called upon to carry out the most difficult and degrading work that the native workers had refused to do. Today, they are sent abroad or threatened to be sent off as soon as possible in light of the same "ideals" upon which Western society is based - valid, certainly, at the time when they had been attracted to these countries. Under this situation, I believe, the conclusion can be seen by itself that in societies based upon the exploitation and oppression man actually only represents a pawn in the game of certain forces that lift him up and bring him down in accordance with certain chaotic fluctuations of some unforgiving "laws" which in no way can be called human.

Elena Florea: In this context, it is interesting to me to also reveal the fact that no matter how much agitation is made in the West regarding the human rights problem the specific realities of some of the developed capitalist countries attest that one cannot speak of real human rights where there is discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, sex and so forth.

An entire series of specialized literature shows that in countries like the United States, Great Britain, the FRG and so forth there clearly are expressions of ethnic and racial discrimination and discriminatory practices in the areas of work, education and culture, in political affairs and in regards to living conditions and the standard of living. An often cited example is the situation of the Blacks and Indians in the United States, the colored citizens in Great Britain and the immigrants in the FRG and other Western countries. "At the same level of school training," it has been noted in a substantial sociological study (John Mirowski, Catherine E. Ross, "Minority Status, Ethnic Culture and Distress," in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, No 3/1980, pp 480-481), "minorities hold the least prestigious jobs in relation to the non-minorities, and for the same job prestige the minorities are paid less. At each level of income, the minorities cannot live where the non-minorities live, cannot hold the same power positions within the community and cannot send their children to the same schools. Within each social class, the minorities belong to the lowest categories. This is why these people have a strong feeling of frustration, powerlessness and inferiority, which, inevitably, produce a demoralization, unhappiness and dissatisfaction on the psychological-affective level and a powerful perception of misery." In referring to the same phenomenon, Xavier Greffe notes as suggestively as is possible in the work "The Social Policy" (Paris, 1975) that "all those who are in a situation of marginality live below the recognized level of poverty, are deprived and subjected to discrimination, and represent that category which we can call the 'damned.' And, the 'damned' do not have access to the values and goods of society,"

including those values that have come to be called human rights. And, this is so because - as even some non-Marxist ideologists have recognized - in these countries we have to deal with a "society of inequalities" of a social and national nature.

As has been pointed out here, we also have to deal with a society in which groups appear of a neo-Nazi nature and in which there is a proliferation of organizations of a fascist and neofascist type. The racism practiced by these organizations, the actions directed against immigrant workers, the growing hostility and harmful expression of resentment and even xenophobia towards them, the coups and crimes and the terrorism practiced so as to intimidate public opinion and the democratic forces and to spread despair and disorientation among the ranks of all those who are fighting to defend and win their legitimate rights all make up that complex context allows human rights on the economic level in the developed capitalist regions to remain a valid slogan in principle, but frequently disproven in social reality. Some works and research carried out under the aegis of the U.N. correctly find that, although in different countries of the world, including the developed capitalist countries, there are constitutional provisions and laws that ought to work to prevent or eliminate racial, national and ethnic discrimination, nonetheless they "are expressed - as pointed out by Hernand Santa Cruz in his work "Racial Discrimination," New York, 1977 - for diverse reasons and in diverse forms," constituting one of the most deplorable and most shameful social phenomena in our times.

Androne: For my part, I would like to refer to one of the truly fundamental rights of man and the people - the right to development. Rightly so comrade Ioan Ceterchi pointed out here that human rights cannot be conceived of without certain guarantees and material conditions that will permit achieving them in practice. At the same time, the right to life, the right to work, the right to education and the right to a worthy life must be conceived, in my opinion, in a much broader view in the context of the right to development and to the material and cultural conditions that will truly permit the affirmation of the human personality. It is significant that in recent times there has been an ever broader recognition of this right at the international level.

It is known that the right to development was recognized in numerous U.N. resolutions and was the object of discussion at certain prestigious scientific events, such as, for example, the recent meeting organized under the aegis of the University of the United Nations and the Academy of International Law in the Hague, with participation of judges from the International Court of Justice, members of the Commission on International Law and prominent specialists from different fields. On this occasion, Manfred Lachs, a judge on the International Court of Justice, noted that "the right to development is a component part of the people's right to exist itself," and another participant, G. Abi-Saab, pointed out that "this represents a precondition for the exercise of all human rights and freedoms, and first of all those rights of a social-economic content."



In recent times, there have been discussions with regard to this right, asking the question if we are talking about an already consecrated principle or a concept whose content will be outlined in the future or a principle in its incipient stage that must, for its part, be recognized by a complementary declaration to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights or through a third Pact on Human Rights that will consecrate it as such.

In my opinion, regardless of how we will declare the right to development as a new, individual, independent right, in other words, independent of the other fundamental rights, or as a composite right that contains all the other rights, the essential aspect is the content of this right - the need to ensure the material conditions necessary to achieve human rights and freedoms.

From this point of view, what is the situation in the contemporary world? We well know the especially acute status of the lesser developed countries, whose backwardness, primarily brought about by imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies, does not permit the creation of the material conditions necessary for fully exercising human rights and freedoms. In the world today there are 900 million poor and very poor people, hundreds of millions of illiterate people and 50 million children who work at an early age in order to be able to subsist. In a century of abundance that is stockpiled in some areas on the globe, two-thirds of the world's population suffer from hunger and malnutrition. Within the framework of the aforementioned symposium, the eminent Senegalese jurist K. M'Baye correctly noted: "What in fact does freedom mean for those who will die of hunger? The human rights as they are proclaimed in the Declaration of Human Rights haveno meaning for people who live under conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance."

Especially in our times, I feel that we cannot omit the indissoluble link between the right to development and people's basic right to life and existence. The impact between these rights must be conceived in a dual sense. On one hand, the progress, the development of any nation and, implicitly, the full affirmation of human rights can only find the conditions favorable for achievement if there is in the world a climate of peace, quiet and security. On the other hand, it is no less true that peace depends upon the manner in which the economic situation evolves since the perpetuation of underdevelopment, the deepening of the gaps between the rich countries and the poor countries and the inequalities generated by the current system of international relations create a state of injustice, dissatisfaction and tension that generate conflicts, tensions and violence. Peace does not mean merely eliminating the danger of war, but also the creation of the possibilities to use the immense material and human resources for the acute needs for the development of the people, for the eradication of poverty, for the continuing improvement of the standard of living of all people and for the affirmation of the right to development.

One of the main reporters at the aforementioned meeting, Z. Haquani, justifiably noted: "We should not forget that development is the factor upon which

peace will depend and perhaps the survival on mankind." As a result, this is the new fundamental dimension of human rights in the contemporary world which, unfortunately, most of the theoreticians and politicians in the West deliberately neglect.

Constantin Ene: There are numerous facts that show that in the Western societies the human rights problem has actually become a piece in strategies and political and electoral calculations, which gives it a noisy nature and the nature of a propaganda campaign. In reality, Western societies - where history has always associated colonial domination, the policy of oppressing other peoples and racial discrimination - see the real concern for human rights as something equally foreign today, as it has been throughout history. It is not hard to observe that this tendentious and noisy campaign in "support" of human rights has appeared under certain conditions as an instrument for promoting certain class interests.

Continuing, I would like to pause on a basic aspect of human rights in the contemporary world - the supreme right to life and existence. In recent times, the fact has become clearer that - as our party and state and president Nicolae Ceausescu consistently stress - in a world permanently confronted by the danger of the unleashing of a thermonuclear conflagration that can place a question mark over human existence itself, the affirmation of human rights requires as a sine qua non conditions the halting of the aberrant arms race and the move to disarmament and, first of all, nuclear disarmament.

In 1981 at Groningen, Holland, there was a conference organized by the Institute of Polemology of the university in the same city on the subject of the nuclear danger in Europe. At this conference, which was otherwise well-intentioned and which concluded with constructive conclusions, one of the participants began with the premise that the chances for involving mankind in a drastic program for disarmament would not occur except... after there is in the world an event of a catastrophic nature that would involve the use of nuclear weapons as a result of a nuclear conflict, an accident or a terrorist act... It seems to me that in the framework of our discussion we should remember this profoundly irrational means of conceiving the fate of humanity because he shows the secondary, auxiliary place reserved for Man in the judgements of certain Western circles. This same reasoning also dominates the official policies of certain powerfully armed countries. No matter how sinister, the spectre of a nuclear war today no longer appears in the concept of certain politicians as a product of certain psychological deficiencies or maladies, but as stemming from a "reason" - that of seeking "strategic security."

We thus arrive at the question: What value can there be in the area of defending human rights in those who promote policies of a nuclear arms build up, those who formulate strategic doctrine in which there are "planned" human victims and "admissible" material damages?



The defense of the fundamental human right, the right to life - as an essential condition for exercising the other rights - has today become a fundamental requirement that starts with the serious reality of our times that nuclear weapons and the immense nuclear arsenals accumulated throughout the world endanger the existence itself of Man and human civilization. Nuclear weapons are not traditional weapons for defense. At the current technological level and by virtue of the effects that they can have, they constitute instruments of mass destruction at the planetary level and nothing else. In a nuclear war, there would be no winners and losers, but merely a generalized destruction. Furthermore, in recent years the technological evolution has proceeded in the direction of innovations that make nuclear weapons "useable" and that "reduce the demarcation space" between nuclear weapons and conventional ones. Doctrines have appeared that begin with the premise of "a limited nuclear war" and with a determination of the geographic area that is to become the theater of nuclear hostilities - Europe. The doctrine of "a limited nuclear war" also plans the number of victims that would result from such a war - 200 million persons from the ranks of European peoples!

Calculations show that the explosion of a single nuclear weapon above a city with a population of one million people would kill 300,000 persons and leave another 380,000 persons dependent upon medical care, and this in just a period of several minutes. And, as some specialists warn, even a technologically advanced country like the United States does not have the facilities to treat more than several hundred victims of nuclear explosions per hour. What about the affects that are left "to be inherited" by the following generations? What about the influence of the use of nuclear weapons upon the environment? As pointed out in a U.N. study on the destruction capability of nuclear weapons, in a conflict waged with these weapons "millions of people would die and other millions would be subjected to certain grave destruction of a biological, physical and psychological nature that would make the survivors envy those who had died."

Man and the existence of the human species itself is, thus, in danger and this makes his right to life and to peace his most precious right. In the context of the ever more powerful affirmation of the people's struggle for peace and security, against the dangers of certain armed international conflagrations and for the stopping of the arms race and a move to disarmament, there is an ever sharper outlining and more powerful affirmation of the idea of the need to respect the supreme human right and the right of the people to peace and security and to a free, worthy and prosperous life.

Cristescu: The existence of nuclear weapons and the doctrines that support them confer a dramatic dimension to human rights in contemporary society. Western theoreticians are ever more concerned in recent times with the process of erosion in the democratic governments and the fundamental human rights that is taking place currently in these societies as a result of the "nuclear revolution." Thus, David Gompert, a coordinator for a substantial study entitled "Nuclear Weapons and World Policy," wrote in 1980 that the "existence

of nuclear weapons can fundamentally alter the relationship of the government-citizens. If, over time, the need for governments to locate expansive forces for discouragement is not judged and condemned by the citizens..., popular control over the maintenance of forces can become weakened and the governments themselves could feel free to provide for (nuclear) discouragement without the consent of the governed." Similarly, in a work that appeared in 1981 entitled "The Nuclear Revolution," Michael Mondlebaum points out that in the American political system nuclear weapons produce an inevitable increase in "governmental power." For his part, Richard Falk, in the study entitled "Nuclear Weapons and the End of Democracy" published in 1982, points out, among other things: "Congress, not to mention the public, is poorly informed about the nature of presidential authority with regards to nuclear weapons."

With regards to the capability of the modern state "to continue to maintain its democratic values," even the most optimistic strategists are generally in agreement that the attributes for governing and for responsibility among the leaders and for participation among the citizens are substantially modified in the context of the nuclear threat. Thus, "a permanent state of war, not by virtue of the nature of political will or the character of international antagonisms, but as a structural reflection of the nature of modern weapons," one of these strategists notes, "throws a large shadow over the possibilities themselves for a democratic policy." The author finds that the leader of a nuclear power increasingly has "a capability for destruction comparable to that which the traditional religions attribute to the deity and a capability to cause in the most complete sense a global or human apocalypse. The authority and power to provoke such results through a single decision-making process suggest the degree in which the citizens are inevitably and permanently excluded from the decisions which decisively modifies social destiny."

Ceterchi: The human rights problem, as has been stressed in our discussion, rightly concentrates the attention of all of humanity. The discussions surrounding the concept itself, as well as its multiple implications in social affairs, cannot hide an elementary truth: human rights have an organic link with the economic and social situation in each country, as well as the contemporary world in general.

Security, peace and mankind are threatened every moment by the current arms race which threatens seriously life and the existence of mankind itself and humanity. The right of the people to life and to an existence free of threats of war, as well as the right to development, are fundamental rights of the first significance. This is so since, as has also been shown in our discussion, their full respect and fulfillment also depend upon the provision of the other human rights and freedoms - the right to work, to training, to health, to education and so forth.

As is known, Romania's view and that of the president of our country, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding human rights, based upon a profound humanism,

begins precisely with the need to achieve certain equitable economic relations between all the members of society that will give each citizen the opportunity to lead a better and more worthy life - from the free access to education, culture and science to the opportunity to directly participate for the people, regardless of nationality, in the leadership of all of society. "Only such an approach to the human rights problem," stressed the secretary general of our party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "fully ensures the complete expression of the human personality and the affirmation of each persons's possibilities in relation to his abilities."

The democracy practiced in socialist Romania, a democracy based on the elimination of any type of oppression and social inequality, and the actions and measures undertaken by our party and state after the Ninth RCP Congress, at the initiative of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to improve and continue to further socialist democracy create conditions favorable to the unstoppable affirmation of human rights and freedoms, for a higher organization of relations between the state, society and the individual, for the access of all the citizens to economic and social-political affairs and to culture and education, and for the broad and responsible participation of all the workers and all the people in the leadership of the socialist state and all economic and social-political affairs.

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CSO: 2700/114

DUTIES OF CITIZENS, PEOPLE'S COUNCILS IN ENSURING ORDER

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 114, 18 Dec 82 pp 1-6

[Law No 10 of 9 December 1982 on the Obligations and Responsibilities of the People's Councils, the Socialist Units and the Citizens for the Proper Administration, Maintenance and Cleaning of the Urban and Rural Localities and the Preservation of Public Order and Discipline]

[Text] Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 10 of 9 December 1982 on the Obligations and Responsibilities of the People's Councils, the Socialist Units and the Citizens for the Proper Administration, Maintenance and Cleaning of the Urban and Rural Localities and the Preservation of Public Order and Discipline.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Chairman  
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 18 December 1982.

Law

on the Obligations and Responsibilities of the People's Councils, the Socialist Units and the Citizens for the Proper Administration, Maintenance and Cleaning of the Urban and Rural Localities and the Preservation of Public Order and Discipline

In accordance with the plans for economic and social development of the country, there have been allocated, year by year, large amounts of funds that have provided for the continual rise of the urban-maintenance level and the beautification of the municipalities, cities and communes, for the continual improvement of the quality of life of the citizens in all localities.

The raising of the degree of development of all localities to a higher level requires the further improvement of the activity of the people's councils, the growth of their role, on the basis of the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, in the providing of the proper administration of the communes, cities and municipalities, the maximally efficient use of the material and financial means that are entrusted to them and the stimulation and full utilization of the energy, creative capacities and initiative of all the working people.

The people's councils are responsible, according to law, for the management, guidance and coordination of the entire activity of administering and beautifying the localities and for the preservation of order and discipline, being obligated to secure, with the aid of the deputies, the permanent commissions and the citizens committees, the wide participation of all inhabitants of the municipalities, cities and communes in discussing and adopting the decisions on the self-administration of the localities and in carrying out the measures for developing, beautifying and modernizing them.

The participation of the citizens and the socialist units in properly administering, in taking care of and preserving the cleanliness of the localities, dwellings and other buildings, the yards and precincts, the traffic arteries, all public places and the means of transportation constitutes an essential condition for meeting the requirements for work and for a civilized life for the whole population.

The fulfillment of these requirements necessitates the growth of the responsibility of all citizens and socialist units, the development of civic consciousness, and direct participation in carrying out the actions for properly administering, modernizing and beautifying the municipalities, cities and communes, for strengthening the order and discipline for permanently preserving the state of cleanliness and hygiene of the localities.

To this end, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

## Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. Proper administration, the preservation of cleanliness, the strict observance of the standards of hygiene, and the beautification of the municipalities, cities and communes constitute a permanent obligation of the people's councils, the socialist units and all citizens.

Article 2. The county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, the municipal people's councils, those of the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, and the city and communal people's councils are responsible for the management, guidance, coordination and supervision of the whole activity of administering and beautifying the localities, for the preservation of order and cleanliness in all cities and communes.

Article 3. In exercising the powers that devolve upon them, the people's councils apply the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration and secure, in accordance with the provisions of the economic and financial mechanism, the maximally efficient use of the material and financial means that are entrusted to them, the reduction of the consumption of materials and the elimination of losses, especially of energy, fuel and water, and the continual development and proper administration of the localities.

Article 4. The people's councils base their entire activity of administering the localities on the continual strengthening of the ties with the citizens, stimulating their initiative and their participation in carrying out the work of maintenance and preservation of cleanliness, in doing the urban-maintenance work on time and in strengthening order and discipline.

Article 5. The socialist units have the obligation to permanently maintain the cleanliness and state of hygiene of the buildings, their annexes, the precincts, the other spaces, and the means of transportation that they possess.

In addition, the socialist units have the obligation to participate in maintaining and ensuring the cleanliness of the streets, roads, parks and gardens around the precincts.

Article 6. All citizens have the obligation to provide the tending of the dwellings, domestic outbuildings, yards and fences and to participate directly in maintaining and preserving order and cleanliness on streets and roads, in markets, parks and gardens, in other public places and on means of transportation.

Article 7. The citizens have the obligation to participate in the actions organized by the people's councils, the citizens committees and the tenants associations for properly administering the localities, preserving cleanliness and beautifying the communes, cities and municipalities, improving their aesthetic appearance and strengthening public order and discipline.

## Chapter II

### The Obligations and Responsibilities of the People's Councils

Article 8. The people's councils, with the aid of the deputies, the citizens committees, the tenants associations and the socialist units, with the direct participation of all citizens, are obligated to secure:

- a) The strict observance of the legal provisions on the systematization of the territory and the localities and the standards regarding discipline in construction;
- b) The cleaning of the streets, markets and other public places, the removal of snow, the regular gathering, collection and dumping of domestic and street refuse, and the sorting and utilization of reusable material resources;
- c) The proper administration and maintenance of the housing supply and other buildings, the strict observance by all citizens and socialist units of the legal provisions on the use of dwellings, the sanitation and cleaning of them and the yards, alleys and green spaces around the buildings;
- d) The repair and maintenance of streets, roads, bridges and footbridges, the deepening of ditches, and the modernization and construction of roads and traffic arteries;
- e) The reinforcement and maintenance of dikes and banks, the execution of the work to protect and maintain streambeds and watercourses, the doing of other flood-prevention work, the ensuring of the flow of water, the draining of insanitary land and the prevention of water pollution;
- f) The utilization for heating of local resources, branches, brushwood and other materials resulting from forest sanitation, and of reusable material resources from the socialist units;
- g) The proper organization and functioning of mass transit, the rational and efficient exploitation of the means of transportation, the preservation of the

cleanliness and proper appearance of the vehicles, and the strengthening of order and discipline in exploiting and using the means of transportation;

h) The strict observance of hygienic and health standards in the agricultural and food markets, in fairs and stockyards, in the commercial public-food units and the service units;

i) The arrangement, in accordance with the systematization sketches, and the maintenance of green zones, parks and public gardens, of sports grounds and playgrounds for children, and of other public and recreational areas;

j) The preservation of cleanliness and the observance of hygienic and health standards in movie houses, theaters, fieldhouses and stadiums and in other cultural and sports units;

k) The preservation, conservation, repair and restoration, under the conditions provided by law, of statues and other constructions representing monuments of art and culture.

Article 9. The municipal people's councils, those of the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, and the city and communal people's councils are obligated to prepare and to subject to discussion in the civic assemblies programs of concrete measures for organizing the actions for properly administering, cleaning and beautifying the localities and to continually guide and supervise the achievement of these actions.

The mayors of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes will present reports on the fulfillment of the programs of actions mentioned in Paragraph 1 in the civic assemblies organized, quarterly, in accordance with the law.

The deputies of the people's councils will mobilize the citizens in the electoral districts for the maintenance of the state of cleanliness and hygiene of the dwellings, yards and traffic arteries and for their participation in the actions of beautifying the localities.

Article 10. The people's councils and their executive committees and bureaus, with the aid of the citizens committees and the tenants associations, will take action for the effective participation of all citizens and socialist units in carrying out the work of cleaning and beautifying the cities and communes, for which purpose they will designate traffic arteries, parks, gardens, other public places or portions of them that are to be put in the care of the citizens committees, school units and other socialist units.

### Chapter III

#### The Obligations of the Socialist Units With Regard to Maintaining and Preserving the Cleanliness of the Buildings and Precincts, the Traffic Arteries and Other Public Places

Article 11. The working people's councils and the other collective leadership bodies in all socialist units are obligated to take steps so that all worker personnel participate in the actions of maintaining, cleaning and beautifying the buildings,



precincts, yards, fences and access ways and the surrounding streets, roads and green zones.

To this end, the following obligations devolve upon the collective leadership bodies mentioned in Paragraph 1:

- a) To maintain in proper condition the buildings in which the units perform their activity or have under their administration or in their possession, through the performance of the repair work established according to law, and to ensure in the units in which they perform their activity the washing of windows and shopwindows, the replacement of broken ones, and the maintenance of signs and facades;
- b) To provide a permanent state of cleanliness and order in the storage areas for materials, in yards and on other land that they possess, and on interior access ways;
- c) To ensure the proper fencing of the buildings possessed and the tending of the fruit trees, flowers and other plants in the precincts;
- d) To provide hygienic conditions through operations of cleaning, disinsectization and deratization of the buildings;
- e) To ensure the cleaning of the streets and sidewalks around the precincts and the tending of the green spaces and the plants existing on these arteries;
- f) To preserve the cleanliness and order in the storage areas established for domestic and street refuse and reusable materials.

The collective leadership bodies of the socialist units are obligated to take steps to avoid the production of noise beyond the admissible limits set by the legal standards, in order to ensure the peace and quiet of the citizens in inhabited zones.

Article 12. The collective leadership bodies of the state agricultural units and the agricultural production cooperatives are obligated to secure the mobilization of all worker personnel and the cooperative members to do the work regarding:

- a) The cleaning and sanitation of the stables, winter stables and other places of shelter for animals and poultry and the access ways and their surroundings;
- b) The evacuation and transportation of the entire quantity of manure and the animal dejecta, in order to use them as natural fertilizer;
- c) The cleaning of the agricultural equipment and machines on their emergence onto public ways.

Article 13. The socialist units that do work of construction, of repair and demolition on buildings, of urban technical installation and of repair or maintenance on it have the following obligations:

- a) To fence the sites for construction and for doing other work and to take steps to properly maintain the fences;



- b) To store the materials in order, including those resulting from demolition;
- c) To promptly clear the sites of dirt, debris and any other refuse and to transport them to the specially arranged places;
- d) To ensure the cleaning of the vehicles on emerging from the site, from concrete stations or from other such places, in order to not dirty the public ways with dust and mud;
- e) To maintain order and cleanliness on the public ways around the site, including the parts of the public way contained in the organization of the site.

Article 14. The communal administration units subordinate to the people's councils, and other units that have under their administration the distribution or sewage systems on the territory of the localities, are obligated to do promptly, within at most 48 hours, the following work:

- a) The mending of damage or faults in the pipelines for supplying drinking water and domestic hot water and for distributing thermal energy;
- b) The unblocking of storm sewers and waste-water conduits, in order to avoid or eliminate floods or the formation of stagnant water;
- c) The repair of the damage to the roadway of streets that can lead to the production of traffic accidents or tieups in road traffic.

In addition, the communal administration units will ensure, under the conditions of the law, the correlated achievement of all urban public works, regardless of the beneficiaries or executants of them, in order to avoid the repeated undoing and re-doing of the roadway and sidewalks of streets.

Article 15. The worker personnel in the commercial public-food and service units are obligated:

- a) To ensure the permanent order and cleanliness of the premises in which they perform their activity and of the storage areas for materials and containers;
- b) To strictly observe the hygienic and health standards regarding the production, storage and sale of food products;
- c) To ensure the maintenance of the quality of stored agricultural and food products;
- d) To maintain in a state of cleanliness the social groupings, equipment and furniture;
- e) To participate in the collection, removal and storage of refuse, in places specially arranged for this purpose.

The heads of the units mentioned in Paragraph 1 are obligated to check on the state of cleanliness and hygiene of the premises, the sidewalks and the parts of roadway around them, being responsible for permanently ensuring their cleanliness. In

addition, they must take steps regarding the periodic performance of the actions of deratization, disinfection and disinsectization.

#### Chapter IV

#### The Obligations of the Citizens With Regard to Taking Care of and Preserving the Cleanliness of the Dwellings, Domestic Outbuildings, Yards, Streets, Roads and Other Public Places

Article 16. All citizens have the duty to ensure the maintenance and cleanliness of the dwellings, the domestic outbuildings and the yards and their fences and to participate in carrying out all measures regarding proper administration of the localities. To this end, the citizens have the following obligations:

- a) To do, under the conditions provided by law, the work of maintaining and repairing the dwellings and domestic outbuildings;
- b) To ensure, according to law, the whitewashing and painting of the outsides of the buildings, the replacement of broken rain gutters and gutter pipes, and the doing of the other repair and maintenance work on the facades of the dwellings;
- c) To clean the installations for evacuating domestic refuse, the incinerators and the refuse-storage areas associated with the buildings;
- d) To store domestic refuse only in receptacles or in places specially arranged for this purpose;
- e) To maintain the cleanliness and hygiene in dwellings, in domestic outbuildings, in yards and gardens and on other land that they possess;
- f) To keep the fences of the buildings in proper condition;
- g) To tend the fruit trees, flowers and other plants in yards and in front of the buildings that they possess;
- h) To maintain the cleanliness of the sidewalks and gutters, the roadway of the street or road, and the parking places that they use and to remove snow and ice from in front of the buildings in which they live;
- i) To ensure, in rural localities, the maintenance of roads, sidewalks, ditches, bridges, footbridges, fountains and spring catchments and the cleaning and sanitation of the stables and other shelters for animals and poultry and to participate in the work of draining marshy land;
- j) To preserve the cleanliness on traffic arteries, in markets, fairs and stockyards, in parks, swimming areas, play areas for children and other recreational areas, in auditoriums and in other public places;
- k) To keep in good condition for use and to not damage the benches, wastebaskets, signs, bulletin boards, telephone booths and other such facilities located on streets, in parks and in other public places;
- l) To observe precisely the measures established by the people's councils for providing public hygiene and cleanliness in the localities.

The citizens have the duty to ensure and contribute to the preservation of order in residential buildings, to observe the norms established for ensuring the peace and quiet of the tenants and to have proper conduct, of a nature to ensure normal use of the dwelling by the other tenants, being responsible, according to law, in the case of not observing these norms.

Article 17. The tenants associations are obligated to mobilize all tenants for the proper administration and maintenance of the dwellings, sanitary installations, domestic outbuildings and other associated facilities, for the payment on time of the shares for covering the common expenses, for the observance of the rules of socialist cohabitation, the protection of public property and the arrangement and maintenance of green spaces.

Article 18. The citizens committees, with the aid of the deputies, are obligated to take steps to mobilize the citizens for actions of arrangement, of maintenance and beautification of buildings, the preservation of cleanliness, the tending of yards and green zones, of fruit trees, flowers and other plants and of play areas for children, the cleaning of sidewalks, streets and alleys, the removal of snow and ice and other such actions.

#### Chapter V

#### The Obligations of the Socialist Units and the Citizens With Regard to Maintaining and Preserving the Cleanliness on Means of Transportation

Article 19. For the strict observance of order and the raising of safety in the operation of means of transportation and the preservation of their cleanliness and proper appearance and for the observance of regularity of traffic and the providing of optimum conditions of travel, the collective leadership bodies of the socialist units that perform transportation of goods and persons are obligated:

- a) To forbid the operation of vehicles of any kind which are damaged, which do not meet the conditions of cleanliness or hygiene or which pollute the atmosphere;
- b) To ensure the cleanliness and sanitation of the means of mass transportation, for the whole time that they are in operation;
- c) To ensure the proper loading and sealing of the vehicles that perform the transportation of the various materials, in order to prevent the scattering of them during transportation and the dirtying or damaging of public ways;
- d) To ensure the cleaning of public ways after the performance of the operations of loading or unloading of the means of transportation;
- e) To ensure the cleaning of the loading and unloading areas in railroad stations, bus stations, ports, airports, markets and fairs.

Article 20. The supervisors and attendants of means of mass transportation and the conductors of trains have the obligation to verify, both on leaving the depots and during transportation, the state of cleanliness and hygiene of the respective means of transportation and are responsible for maintaining it during transportation.

In addition, the persons mentioned in Paragraph 1 are obligated to take steps, under the conditions provided by law, to call to account those who violate the norms

established with regard to order and discipline in the use of the means of transportation.

Article 21. The citizens who use buses, trolley buses, streetcars, trains and other means of mass transportation are obligated to observe the following rules:

- a) To behave in a civilized manner throughout the ride and to have a polite attitude toward the other passengers and the personnel who serve the means of transportation;
- b) To preserve the cleanliness on the means of transportation, at stops and in parking lots, railroad stations, bus stations, ports and airports and to not damage their facilities;
- c) To behave in accordance with the norms of travel specific to each means of transportation and to maintain the integrity and functionality of the installations and other facilities;
- d) To not transport materials and baggage that, due to their volume and containers, inconvenience the other passengers, flammable, explosive, radioactive, corrosive and caustic materials and other materials that, according to law, are not permitted on transportation.

#### Chapter VI The Providing of Public Order and Discipline

Article 22. The continual raising of the degree of civilization of the urban and rural localities, the proper administration and maintenance of them and the continual improvement of the quality of life require the providing of perfect order and the firm observance of discipline, of the rules of socialist cohabitation, of civilized behavior in the use of traffic arteries and auditorium, in all other public places and in apartment houses.

Article 23. All inhabitants of the cities and communes must exhibit a high civic consciousness, must observe strictly the norms of socialist cohabitation and the rules for using and preserving all public facilities and must contribute, through their entire conduct, to the combating of any manifestations of negligence and disinterest in preserving the state of hygiene and cleanliness of the localities.

Article 24. The citizens have the duty to ensure perfect order in the use of means of mass transportation, to contribute to the preservation and strengthening of public peace and order and to exhibit a high intransigence toward the backward mentalities and behavior of disregard for the rules of good conduct and of negligence in the preservation of public property.

In addition, all citizens have the duty to support the orderkeeping bodies in combating manifestations that express a lack of propriety or of respect for the rules of socialist cohabitation and to take a stand against any manifestations of infringement of socialist legality and the norms of civilized behavior.

Article 25. The collective leadership bodies of the socialist units will perform a steady activity of education in order to continually raise the socialist consciousness of the working people, to form and reinforce ethical, moral traits, for

promoting relations of correctitude, esteem and mutual aid, for promoting respect for the laws of the state and the norms of socialist cohabitation.

Article 26. The collective leadership bodies of the socialist units will take steps to discuss in the work staffs the cases of violation of the standards regarding order and discipline in properly administering the localities, of the rules of cohabitation, and of socialist legality and to form an uncompromising mass opinion against such manifestations.

Article 27. The Ministry of Education and Instruction will take steps to improve and perfect the activity of educating the young people in all educational units, in order to mold them in the spirit of respect for public property and the rules of civilized behavior under all circumstances.

Article 28. The Ministry of the Interior, through the militia bodies, will take prompt steps to prevent and combat any manifestations of disregard for public order and discipline, the norms of socialist cohabitation and the rules for preserving the cleanliness of the localities and to call to account, under the conditions provided by law, those at fault.

#### Chapter VII Responsibilities and Penalties

Article 29. The failure to comply with the provisions of the present law entails, as the case may be, the disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional or penal accountability of those at fault.

Article 30. The following acts, if they were not committed under such conditions that, according to criminal law, they may be considered infractions, constitute a contravention and are punished as follows:

- a) The violation of the provisions of Article 16, letters b, c, e, f, g, h, i, j and l, and Article 21, with a fine from 200 lei to 1,000 lei;
- b) The violation of the provisions of Article 16, letters d and k, and Article 20, with a fine from 300 lei to 1,500 lei;
- c) The violation of the provisions of Article 11, letters a, c, d and e, Article 12 and Article 15, Paragraph 2, with a fine from 2,000 lei to 6,000 lei;
- d) The violation of the provisions of Article 11, letters b and f, Article 13, Article 14, letters a, b and c, and Article 19, with a fine from 5,000 lei to 10,000 lei.

In the cases mentioned in Paragraph 1, letters c and d, the fines can also be applied to juridical persons.

Article 31. The ascertainment of the contraventions and the application of the penalties mentioned in the present law are done by the mayors of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, by the persons empowered for this purpose by the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, and by the officers and noncommissioned officers of the militia.

In addition, the ascertainment of the contraventions and the application of the penalties mentioned in the present law are done by the persons who, according to the legal provisions, have the competence to ascertain and punish the contraventions to the hygienic and health standards and the rules for use of means of transportation and their facilities in the system of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

Article 32. The provisions of Law No 32/1968 on the Establishment and Punishment of Contraventions are applicable to the contraventions mentioned in the present law.

#### Chapter VIII Final Provisions

Article 33. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, the socialist units, the tenants associations and the citizens committees are obligated to take steps so that all worker personnel and all citizens know thoroughly the provisions of the present law and understand the particular importance of observing the standards of cleanliness and proper administration of the localities and the norms of civilized behavior toward public property.

In addition, they will take steps to organize actions for popularizing the present law through the posting of notices at the workplaces, on bulletin boards in public places, and in the halls of apartment houses, through other means of publicity, and within the assemblies of the citizens.

Article 34. The press, radio and television and the educational, cultural and health units will continually perform a steady activity to mobilize the citizens for the actions of beautifying and cleaning the localities, of popularizing the provisions of the present law, and of educating the young people and all citizens, in order to develop their civic consciousness.

Article 35. The obligations mentioned in the present law for the socialist units also devolve upon other juridical persons.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 9 December 1982.

Chairman  
of the Grand National Assembly,  
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 9 December 1982.  
No 10.

12105  
CSO: 2700/109

POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL BASES OF NATIONAL AWARENESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 82 pp 10-14

[Article by Univ Prof Ovidiu Trasnea]

[Text] Despite some reservations that still persist in the foreign literature on philosophy, sociology or political science, national awareness is a typical existential aspect and a main concept of our times viewed in their dialectical evolution. Aside from some ideological reasons or dogmatic stereotypes, these reservations may be due to the frequent idealist-reductionist attempts to define the nation primarily or solely by national awareness itself. To be sure such attempts have had and have social, class roots and ideological implications, as well as epistemological roots determined by the characteristics of the approach to comprehension of the very nature of the phenomenon discussed. On the one hand national awareness is one of the aspects or distinctive features of the nation, and on the other hand it is the reflection or perception of all the aspects (constituent features and phases) characteristic of the nation as seen in their dialectical unity and their historical determination.

Ceausescu's Speech

In his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Elimination of the division of society into antagonistic classes, oppressive and oppressed classes, formation of the socialist society based on friendly classes motivated by the same aims and interests, and uniform development of the productive forces, science, education, culture and a new conception of the world and life have radically changed the nature and role of the nation. We can quite rightly maintain that Romania has acquired better characteristics and developed to a higher level in the process of building the fully developed socialist society and advancing toward communism" and, "The RCP has always opposed the policy of minority oppression, consistently militating for full equality of rights among all workers regardless of nationality. As soon as the revolution of social and national liberation against fascism and imperialism, the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were accomplished, Romania began to solve the minorities problem in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary conception by providing for full equality of rights among all workers regardless of nationality."



## Social, Class and National Factors in Current Theories

Of course the social, class factor is the causal one in any approach. This is due in particular to the attempts to find a diagnostic to resurrect what have been called for lack of a more appropriate term the "regional nationalisms" in some developed capitalist countries and to relate them to the proletariat's class struggle and the strategic-tactical aims of the anticapitalist revolutionary struggle. But the nation is often reduced to an ideology, namely the national ideology, in the sense of the form of social totalizing peculiar to bourgeois society, that is the process whereby that kind of social unit sublimates its class contradictions and establishes a position of the subjects depending on the state that organizes, regulates and disseminates it, on the basis of the interactions characteristic of capitalist society. In describing the extent of the phenomena of national socialization, the French Marxist political scientist Alain le Guyader (1) notes that any social phenomenon occurs or tends to occur in national form while the individual himself is always caught in the toils of national criteria, and that "No series of distinctive features of a civilization or social unit is as such the expression of a national reality (potential or actual), not only because the nation is merely an ideology but also because the national ideology is merely a particular case among other forms of totalizing characteristic of other kinds of societies... Consequently this means that in the ordinary sense of the word there are no social-cultural criteria that would denote in themselves any national existence above the class conflicts of bourgeois society and essentially independent of them, since a social phenomenon becomes national only under determined social-historical conditions and through the action, within and on behalf of a type of society, of the particular social-historical procedure that is the national ideology." (2)

Such judgments and reasoning not only falsify Marxism but particularly distort reality. They identify the national with the social, robbing it of any distinctive reality, and reduce the nation to a form of ideological totalizing, so that by inference national awareness loses any legitimacy it may have because it has no subject and can be regarded at best as an alienated awareness. "The nation is always postulated but not realized. It is always desired but it can only be imagined." (3)

To be sure the problem of the forms of ideological totalizing on a statewide scale is vital and urgent (especially their mechanisms, which have not yet been studied in sufficient depth), especially since the processes in the "third world" show the persistence of some prenational forms such as ethnic-linguistic, ethnic-religious or just religious, etc. But it cannot hide the real weakness of Alain le Guyader's interpretation of the nation in that it overlooks people's actual, both objective and subjective affiliation with a nation and denies both the objective basis and the correlative subjective aspect of the nation as a distinct historical entity.

As long as such views are held and expressed, one cannot forget how much damage was done in theory and especially in practice by the dogmatic-sectarian interpretation of Marx' formula "Proletarians have no fatherland" in the Manifesto of the Communist Party. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu quite rightly said at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, "It is a remnant of the old idea of the Third International that the communist



parties have their own history and must give absolutely no consideration to the national interests and even disregard them at times. We must completely bury that past, which was very detrimental to the RCP and the Romanian people." (4)

It is noteworthy that some conceptions that defined the nation one-sidedly as a people with national awareness (consisting of "a combined aspiration to unity, freedom, individuality and prestige") indicated that in distinguishing this developmental stage "the decisive criterion is whether the idea of a duty to sacrifice private interests to national ones has become predominant among a people." Of course the perception of those interests is shaped by various factors including class ones, but their objective basis cannot be overlooked and certainly not denied.

We have no intention of redefining national awareness. Yet some aspects of its treatment must be reconsidered in order to distinguish its characteristics and aspects in the present stage more clearly. Accordingly the point should be stressed that we have to deal with a new historical form of collective awareness and individual identity in view of the appearance of a new historical type of human community, namely the nation, and therefore the emphasis upon *natio quia nata* is not to be taken in the restricting and distorting sense of biologism nor in the ethnic-biologic one alone, but in a primarily historical sense. The national tie that unites the individuals of a community was historically formed on the basis of some generally known factors (infrastructural, economic, ethnic, cultural and political) and in that sense the nation is "born and not made," that is it is not an artifact but a natural-historical product.\* Similarly national awareness is such a product too, but other factors also helped to form and shape it. The existence of what Marx called "the general awareness" of a nation cannot be questioned, so that its omission from some definitions of the nation seems particularly illegitimate to us.

National awareness, like any awareness, can only be awareness of what exists. Of course that does not mean that the existing facts are not or cannot be distorted by omission of some and exaggeration of others, which often happens in the case of what is known as cognitive discord, peculiar to both individual and social awareness in the case of ideologies especially, or when symbols are combined on the level of awareness or ideology that have no direct referents in reality, like the "master race" in Hitlerite ideology. Thus "false awareness" can occur in the case of national awareness too, as in any other form of individual or collective awareness. The famous American political scientist Karl Deutsch explains this possibility (or danger, as he calls it) by the theory of communication, to the effect that a national awareness, like any form of awareness, operates with secondary symbols or symbols of symbols. From this viewpoint national awareness would be the attachment of the secondary symbols of nationality to primary sets of information passing through the channels of social communication or through an individual's mind. (6)

To be sure any society is composed of individuals, but the kinds of relationships that connect them (structures) are highly varied and generate identifiable particular (personal) interests as well as particular obligations (often conflicting). The individuals' affiliations with these varied structures (some circumstantial, others dedicated; some primary, others secondary; some formal, others informal, etc.) also generate many different identities for the same

\*As Marx put it.

individual. The same is true of organized and defined communities like countries, especially under the complex conditions of our times. To define the status of a country it is not enough to consider its socioeconomic and political system. Other determinations must also be considered that give rise to particular interests and consequently groups (even if informal), such as whether it is a developed or developing country, a large, small or medium one, a rich or poor one, whether it is well or poorly endowed with resources, and whether it has nuclear weapons or not, a seacoast or not, etc. Therefore it would be an error to consider these various identities exclusively or solely in opposition. To deny national identification on grounds or in favor of class identification is just as incorrect as denying class identification on grounds or in favor of national identification.

If we consider the fact that the individual's contacts with the society to which he belongs are always mediated by group connections, which affect the way he perceives his position in and toward society, we shall better understand the correlations between the class and the national awareness, between the social and the national awareness, and between the class and the social awareness.

It is this mediation, in the societies and consequently nations that are structured in basically antagonistic classes, that led Marx to speak of "the nation's ideology" as well as "a nation's general awareness." In the case of the former it is a matter of a certain perception of the national interest filtered through the class position. For a better understanding of this problem, which also demonstrates the predominantly political character of the national awareness, it would be sufficient to refer to the dispute in the United States' political ideology concerning that country's national interest. Spurred by the attempt to dominate the world, the imperialist circles are expanding the sphere of that interest on a global scale, as also indicated by the doctrine of "political realism." This illegitimate expansion of the national interest leads to a perception of it that is often deliberately distorted and consequently to a biased ideological interpretation.

In the light of the foregoing, this inevitable mediation cannot lead us to maintain, in my opinion at least, that "In general the division of society into classes is more profound than the grouping of people into nations, as every social category and political organization relates to the problems concerning the nation according to the class positions as well." (7) In evaluating this opinion the fact cannot be overlooked that the nation will flourish and develop after the antagonistic classes are eliminated, and it will endure after any class distinctions are abolished. Accordingly I feel all that can be said is that in certain stages or circumstances the class component of social awareness is more active and becomes predominant. That is true of some of the civil wars, for in the light of recent historical experience, especially in Southeast Asia, not even that point can be considered absolute.

As the same author notes, "Marxism however does not rigidly oppose nation to class and consequently not national awareness either." (8) Even the nature of Romanian history appears as an inseparable combination, effected by the objective factors, of the social with the national problems and the struggle against social exploitation with that against national oppression. Moreover it is a fundamental idea of Marx' conception, which was once wrongly forgotten or

obscured, that the social lives in and through the national. As Lucretiu Patrascanu correctly stated (9), "The national overlaps the social and vice versa."

The principle formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 is of fundamental methodological importance, namely that "In all these systems the class struggle and, in the forms peculiar to each stage, the struggle against foreign domination for national liberation and consequently the struggle against social exploitation and national oppression were the motive force for the revolutionary reforms and the progress of mankind." (10)

The party secretary general gave us a fundamental approach for correct interpretation of the relationship between national and class awareness: "A number of general laws valid for society as a whole have existed and operated in all previous social systems, and they contributed to the development and advancement of the common awareness of the peoples and nations and to the general development of science, culture and human awareness. But they were always used by the exploiting classes for their own purposes and to consolidate and maintain their domination of the other social classes and the masses." (11)

#### National Awareness and Bourgeois Nationalism

Nationalism and its relationship with national awareness often come up in the discussions of contemporary ideas. In general terms, nationalism has been and is seen as the systematized ideological manifestation of national awareness, and it also appeared as an ideological expression of the self-awareness of the young bourgeois nations, playing a progressive social-political role. And even in our time it still plays such a part when it is identified with the national liberation movements and the legitimate trend toward a free and independent political and economic life and against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. In its evolution, bourgeois nationalism accompanied the historical destiny and social-political role of the bourgeoisie, becoming in time an exclusivist and xenophobic ideology designed to justify the bourgeois tendencies toward hegemony of one nation over others and national inequality and persecutions, as well as a diversionary political-ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie aimed at other peoples and the revolutionary workers movement. The evolution of the content and characteristics of nationalism in the period of transition to imperialism is typical and illustrative of the evolution of the entire bourgeois political ideology.

Whereas in the first period of its existence nationalism was the systematic, theorized and doctrinal level of national awareness, in time the self-awareness of the entire nation or the great majority of its members acquired an increasingly pronounced narrow, class character serving the political-ideological purposes of the imperialist bourgeoisie. But I do not think that when we speak of the ideological nature of national awareness in antagonistic societies we should be considering its class character alone, on the ground that there is no ideology but class ideology as the Romanian technical literature often declares. There are ideologies, and so also a nationalism, that express no narrow class interest but particular group interests that may be ethnic, religious etc. (For example, today we are justified in speaking of a literary ideology). But what I wish to emphasize is the fact that the ethnic groups, nationalities and nations create

their own ideologies in reaction to the policy of oppression, discrimination or hegemonism or to the "nationalism" (this time in the sense of national exclusivism) of another community. That is why there are also organized political groups or parties generated not by class interests or those of class factions but by ethnic-linguistic interests or those of nationalities.

Furthermore contemporary history tells us that nationalism in the foregoing sense is not confined to bourgeois societies or states. It also occurs, although more rarely and as an exception to the rule, in the socialist societies even when it is not a "remnant" of bourgeois awareness, in reaction to a wrong, unprincipled national policy or one inconsistent with socialist principles or discriminatory, especially in the case of the multinational states. In view of those considerations we do not think the conclusion is justified that national awareness is a "distinct component" of social awareness, which would require a relationship like that of a part to the whole. Actually, I feel, national awareness is an aspect of social awareness, just as the nation is an existential aspect of society, a historical reality that shapes people's way of life and thinking.

The appearance of national awareness in the modern period has often been described as an "awakening" (John Milton wrote in the *Areopagitica* about Cromwell's England as an "awakening"). This "awakening" (The term is also used today to mean the emancipation of a people or even of a continent, as "the awakening of Africa") is actually the revelation of an identity, meaning that people have realized their own position in a process of social and political change and have begun to act accordingly. In other words, it means transition from individuality to personality. The former means the de facto differentiation of one ethnic group or community from another, while the latter means the active awareness resulting from that group or community reality that lends it a particular cultural and political character.

Historically speaking, the emergence of the nations also coincides with the assertion of a new body, set or even a system of values around which a cohesion was effected, and a form of social communication and identification whereby people coexist, understand each other and express themselves. It was a new way of totalizing by structuring a uniform social-historical axiology, or in other words a resonance on the same wavelength.

It is time to ask ourselves whether this new kind of community personality and this set of values are of "spontaneous origin" or links in a historical chain, and let us take this occasion to explain the relationships between national awareness on the one hand and national characteristics and ethnic awareness on the other.

As we know the national character is both a definitive component of the nation and a result of all the factors that formed and still shape the distinctive nature of the nation. Therefore it is a datum, a historical product and a "congenital framework," as George Calinescu said, that is neither acquired nor given, "And since it is not acquired, neither can it be lost," as the same creative genius said. (12) It is a structural element, but it is not unchangeable. It does not stop the course of history, and it is a fatal illusion to believe it could be stopped. The national character is "in a state of slow but constant change."



National awareness, however, is acquired. It is the result of a process of social learning and gradual perception. While the national character means a certain way of life and thought manifested in the people's material and cultural creation, national awareness is chiefly political and a distinctive aspect of a nation's political culture.

Like any political culture, national awareness has cognitive, emotional and normative-evaluative standards of its own. On the emotional level it acts as a feeling of belonging to a given national community or as a national feeling. Supplemented on the cognitive level with an image or representation of the respective community and on the evaluative level with dedication to the values of the nation and to the symbols that represent it, national feeling becomes a national identity, so that national awareness is a form of identification of the individual with a given community (Of course there are other forms of identification too, even in the various aspects of political awareness, those of class, party etc.). And since we are including in the concept of political culture behavior according to its values, this kind of identification also gives rise to typical induced behavior in the form of loyalty to the nation and the national state. Expressed on the most general, structural level, these distinctive elements of national awareness as an aspect of political culture facilitate understanding of the changes and enrichment of national awareness in the course of a revolutionary social reform.

The relationship between national and ethnic awareness (13) is especially important because the problem has often been misinterpreted even by Marxist scholars. Ethnic awareness precedes national awareness historically. As the term indicates, it is peculiar to ethnicity in its various historical forms and expresses the way the members of a community (including a people and a nation) perceive their common ethnic origin. It is a powerful factor for cohesion and integration.

The technical literature stresses the point that the perception of a nation requires it to have a self, an ego of its own, and an identity if it is to be understood as an autonomous, self-governed entity. This identity is determined by two supplementary components, one of which is its differentiation from others or distinctive nature, and the other is its continuous or temporal nature." (14) It follows from this that both national awareness and its theoretical-ideological expression especially have their normative basis in the attribution of prescriptive value to the distinctive and the temporal. As Karl Deutsch pointed out, "In terms of action, the memory is the source of our autonomy. To be autonomous means to be able to apply information from the past to a decision in the present. Autonomy cannot exist without memory or without an effective past." (15)

This brings out even more clearly the political-ideological significance and importance of the party secretary general's view that "The Daco-Roman origin and continuity in these regions are fundamental characteristics of the Romanian people. Determination of the Romanian people's place in history and of their origin and continuity in the Carpatho-Danubian area is fundamental to any ideological, theoretical or political-educational work. There can be no socialist patriotic education without knowledge and reverence of the past and our ancestors' labor and struggles." (16)

Ethnic awareness is incorporated and dialectically "superseded" in the national awareness, which is a synthesis, also dynamic of course, of the past, present and imagined and desired future. And ethnic awareness is interdependent in the national awareness with awareness of the distinctive nature or particular identity, to which it lends historical support and consistency. To be sure any awareness, being a reference as Marx pointed out in "German Ideology," also includes a delimitation. But as the technical literature rightly says the delimitation or "separation" from others (i.e. the external environment) in correlation with a certain internal cohesion is the distinctive feature of the political communities and their institutionalized units, state ones especially. The idea of a border or frontier has not only a spatial significance but primarily a political one, as a main element of the political and especially national symbolism.

The national character wherein a nation's uniqueness is manifested, just as it is embodied in its material and spiritual culture, is included in national awareness in the sense of its perception on the individual and collective levels. Thus national awareness appears as the expression of an identity in evolution and an enrichment of the determinations and proportions of the awareness on both the community and individual levels. A highly important part in this is played by the objective relationship between the individual and society and, correspondingly, by the historical individual's perception of this relationship. The evolution is somewhat analogous in this respect to that of the historic types of democracy. Since the individual of ancient society was completely integrated in a community or polis (The "umbilical cord" that bound him to the polis -- that community at once ethic and political wherein citizenship was acquired by birth alone even in Pericles' time, so that the political status was determined by the ethnic one -- still had the "force" of tribal relationships), he "counted" or was valued only as a copy of the city's "type," being sovereign in political affairs but a slave in all his private relationships, as Benjamin Constant pointed out. He was proud of being not a Greek or Roman but a citizen of Athens, Sparta or Rome.

The bourgeois revolutions, inherent in the emergence of the first industrial revolution (a significant gain in man's ability to master nature), were accompanied by the consolidation and spread of individualism, which is not only a fundamental ethical principle but an inherent feature of the social and national structures based on private ownership and consequently even a way of life. This had some consequences for the problem we are discussing. One of them is favorable, consisting of the greater value attached to individuals for what they are, that is for the determinations of their personalities, which now include nationality, for the very reason that the appearance of the bourgeois nations and the national state enriched the identity (or personality) of the individual and the community with the new dimension of national awareness. However (and here the second, unfavorable consequence comes in), just as the bourgeois individual relates to his neighbor individualistically, that is in isolation, opposition and competition, the same way of life also affects the relationships between the individual and society and between the individual and the state, as illustrated in the social and political philosophy of liberalism. The individual is also judged by the acquired national awareness, but in a way through a twofold opposition: he and the rest of the community, and his community (nation) and the other ones. Of course there has been a fundamental change in the value system of the individual and society.

Bourgeois nationalism will carry this delimitation by contrast to an extreme and even to the absurd, so that unquestionably the national character also signifies a set of aptitudes or rather a particular inclination. Bourgeois nationalism in its exclusivist, xenophobic phase converts this inclination pertaining to the national identity into a "mission" (sometimes even a providential ones) that justifies a claimed superiority and attempts at hegemony.

#### Socialism and National Awareness

Reflecting the objective changes in the structure and content of the nation but also the influence of the revolutionary and humanistic ideology that orients it, socialist national awareness signifies enhancement of the national, individual and collective personalities. As a radical and comprehensive social reform, socialism dialectically supersedes the previous stages of social development both by removing the barriers they placed in the way of man's development (and that of the community wherein he lives and with which he is identified) and by adopting and developing their achievements in a new, creative and superior synthesis. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Socialism carries on the nation's developmental process begun in the bourgeois period and creates the conditions for full development of the people's national existence. The socialist revolution and construction of the new social system release all the people's creative energies and constitutes a period of national reawakening and of vigorous assertion of the masses' patriotic feelings in the life of every country." (17)

There are many reasons for this "national reawakening," some general, pertaining to the new and qualitatively superior aspects and characteristics the nation acquires in the course of socialist construction, and some pertaining to socialism's system of values, which has a decisive influence upon society's entire spiritual life including national awareness. Others are special in nature, pertaining to the nature of the socialist revolution in various countries, which was an anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation from its first phase, as was the case par excellence in Romania.

Of course the fundamental change that affected the nation's development and consequently the form taken by national awareness was the abolition of the antagonistic classes and the antagonistic nature of the social structure, as well as the advancement of the social leveling process as a structural basis for institution and generalization of relations of all-around social equality and gradual elimination of any social or national discrimination.

Solution of the minorities problem in the consistent spirit of the principles of scientific socialism is another decisive factor in the formation of national awareness.

These qualitative changes lent a new content and greater strength to the nation's cohesion. Taking the form of unity around the leading political force of society, the Communist Party, and of adherence to its policy, this cohesion is of a predominantly political-ideological nature.

The character of the new state power as a real expression of the people's sovereign power lent a new validity to national and state sovereignty, while the rapid and extensive development of the national economic potential provided a

new basis for the nation's independence. All these changes, as well as generalization of the new ideological basis (dialectical and historical materialism and the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism) and Romania's new position in the world, fundamentally modified the character and role of the nation. In the RCP's view it acquired higher characteristics as it developed to a higher level in the course of building the fully developed socialist society and advancing toward communism.

In general, the RCP views national development in a universal historical context. Its appearance in the modern period coincided with globalization of the historical process, thanks to the geographic discoveries and the industrial revolution, and consequently with the creation of universal history and the corresponding awareness (The philosophy of history also began in this period with Voltaire and Herder). In this context national awareness also has the aspect of the nation's assertion in the world. Along with the new trends toward socioeconomic and political emancipation, development of national sovereignty and independence, and restructuring of the international system in the direction of a new equitable and democratic order, development of national awareness acquires a new validity in the light of the requirements for expression of the nations' particular identities, but not as isolation but as a prerequisite for instituting a new order requiring the free and equal cooperation of all nations of the world.

Moreover the point to be stressed is that socialism also carries out another objective trend of historical progress, namely the close correlation between the principles of national and personal self-determination. Man's entire development attests to the inseparable tie between an individual's freedom and national independence of the country to which he belongs. Historically and logically, freedom of the individual, a social being par excellence, presupposes freedom of the social group or community, and in modern society that of the so closely knit and stable community that is the nation.

In keeping with the objective historical processes (social and national), national awareness acquires new elements in socialism. Of course it is not a matter of a hiatus or unilateral break with the national awareness made in Romania's case by the formation of its unified national state. It was a dialectical process and a unity between continuity and discontinuity, and this dialectic appeared in all components of the national awareness as a historical synthesis of the collective memory of the nation, proper reference to the present realities, and scientific forecasting of the near and remote future. The party secretary general's statement is particularly relevant here: "I think it is well to point out that when we speak of national pride and socialist patriotism we must realize they mean valuing and honoring the glorious past of labor and struggle and all that has been good in the centuries-long development of the Romanian people. Meanwhile we certainly must know how to clarify the actions and situations not in keeping with the Romanian spirit and people and, more important, in speaking of national pride and socialist patriotism we must never think that we are to oppose them to other nations or any nationality." (18)

Hence we infer some critical points for understanding the new political-ideological content of national awareness. First comes the major importance of proper understanding and correct evaluation of the historical past, for the very



reason that the past is not approached and celebrated in the spirit of political romanticism with a retrospective, passeist view nor in the spirit of exclusivist nationalism, but in the true spirit of socialist historical progress. Let us recall here the quite correct comment of the French historian Pierre Chaunu, who regarded the violent break with the values of the past, with humanistic ideals and with history in general as one of the causes of the present crisis of capitalism and pointed out that rejection of history means rejection of the future and of progress. Without honoring history progress is impossible because history is what substantiates the investment in the future. (19)

In the spirit of Marxist dialectics of history, the RCP proceeds from the consideration that the generations of today, having a glorious past that is the Romanian people's most priceless heritage, have a duty to elevate the Romanian socialist nation to a new level and new heights of civilization and to enrich it with new material and cultural gains.

Any exclusivism or national discrimination is foreign and even hostile to socialist national awareness. Growth of national pride heavily depends upon development of the spirit of friendship with other peoples and of friendly collaboration and coexistence of Romanians with the workers of different nationalities in Romania. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "To this end national pride and socialist patriotism must become factors for consolidating the Romanian people's unity and international collaboration with all nations of the world." (20)

When national awareness is viewed in the light of proper perception of the national interests in the broader, continental context, the qualitative distinction between the political-ideological basis of socialist national awareness and bourgeois exclusivist nationalism becomes clear. It is also a confirmation, in the Marxist creative spirit, of what was once called "European awareness." Since Europe has had a common history and a common socioeconomic development and, aside from differences in social systems, represents a geographic, economic and social unity, Nicolae Ceausescu felt that we must endeavor to strengthen and develop that unity of the European continent, which is based on respect for every people, national independence, and the system in each country.

Just as the nation is no obstacle to active cooperation of the states of the world (as the "globalists" wrongly maintain), a socialist national awareness fraught with humanistic understanding and responsibility for the fate of mankind and the nations and for the unimpaired value of the sovereign will of the peoples as a principle of political legitimacy is conducive to a new and active view of peaceful coexistence in a changing world. "We are obviously living in a world of different social systems. It is not merely a matter of the capitalist and socialist systems. That is an obsolete simplification. There are many options, some of them very good, for socioeconomic development that are neither socialist nor capitalist. We must proceed from respect for every people's right to choose its own path of development in freedom and stop judging whether any given people are solving their problems well or badly. If something can be done, then any nations, and the developing ones especially, should be helped in solving their complex problems of socioeconomic development. But to maintain that another people absolutely must give way to the wishes of a bigger or stronger nation is in total conflict with the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, national sovereignty and independence, and noninterference in internal affairs. If we set out to judge the system in any given state, there can no

longer be any coexistence, detente or peace policy," Nicolae Ceausescu said. (21) Accordingly socialist national awareness is an active, even normative part of awareness of the period, futhering the progressive trends that are making headway in today's world against the active resistance of the forces of the old.

Socialist national awareness is a critical aspect of the new political culture. Its promotion and consolidation mean the increasingly active establishment of a new system of socialist values in the way of life and thought and the behavior of the members of society. But this process is no sudden or smooth leap, but a truth revealed by sociologists, political scientists or anthropologists as well. Speaking of similar processes, Amitai Etzioni said of reorientation of values by a new political power that "The relation of power to values is analogous to that of energy to material. The conversion of values to power is not an abrupt "leap" but rather a process of transformation." (22) Therefore we must bear the fact in mind that in socialist society national awareness has a new political-ideological basis and that it is also a distinctive feature of the new political culture, in addition to the consideration following from the foregoing point that it is a lengthy process and the action of the law of conflict between old and new is universal. In this area too consistent promotion of the new must be combined with the firm and tireless struggle against the old and against any forms of nationalism or trends toward national hostility.

The solidarity of the true national values with the communist values have an objective historical basis: Socialism and communism have the objective potential to maximize the development and progress of the nation. Therefore socialist awareness and national awareness are inherently consubstantial.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Alain le Guyader, "Contributions a la critique de l'ideologie nationale," tome I, premiers essais, Paris, Union generale d'edition, 1978.
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4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech on Present Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and on the RCP's Theoretical and Ideological Problems and Political and Educational Activity," Political Publishing House [PPH], 1982, p 63.
5. Frederick Hertz, "Nationality in History and Politics," New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, p 24.
6. Karl W. Deutsch, "Nationalism and Social Communication," Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 2d ed. 1972, pp 170-171.
7. Constantin Vlad, "Essays on the Nation," PPH, 1971, p 33.
8. Ibid.
9. Lucretiu Patrascanu, "A Century of Social Upheaval. 1821-1917," PPH, 1969, p 132.

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11. Ibidem, p 9.
12. George Calinescu, "History of Romanian Literature from Its Origins to the Present," Minerva Publishing House, 1982, p 973.
13. For this see Ion Rebedeu's pertinent considerations, with which we essentially agree, in the chapter, "On the Spiritual Face of the Nation," in the collection "The Nation and Our Times," PPH, 1971, pp 313-320.
14. Cf. Christopher J. Berry, "Nations and Norms," in REVIEW OF POLITICS, 1981, 1, pp 75-78.
15. Karl W. Deutsch, "Politics and Government. How People Decide Their Fate," Boston, Houghton Mifflin Comp., 1970, pp 152-153.
16. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 15.
17. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Way to Completing Socialist Construction," Vol 1, PPH, 1968, p 397.
18. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech on Present Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and on the RCP's Theoretical and Ideological Problems and Political and Educational Activity," PPH, 1982, pp 42-43.
19. Cf. Pierre Chaunu, "Le refus de la vie. Analyse historique du present," Paris, Calman Levy, 1976.
20. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 43.
21. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Address to the Chiefs of the Diplomatic Missions," SCINTEIA 31 Dec 1981.
22. Amitai Etzioni, "The Active Society," New York, Free Press, 1968, p 323.

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CSO: 2700/108

# COMPLEXITY, DANGERS OF RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 82 pp 19-20

[Article by Florin Georgescu: "Scope of Scientific-Materialist Educational Work"]

[Text] Formation of the individual as a purposeful subject of history engaged in the process of building a new life requires, as a necessary component, overcoming ideas of the existence of supernatural forces directing the world and determining men's fate, since such ideas are still cultivated by some members of Romanian society. As the party secretary general said at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, scientific-materialist education is needed "especially today, when the basic sciences like chemistry, physics, biology, genetics et al. have provided new answers to the problems of knowing the universe and the world's development and materiality. Under these circumstances it is particularly difficult to understand how some backward, mystical ideas can still appear and still take in some people and, unfortunately, even communists. I point this out because we must draw all conclusions concerning some defects in our ideological, political and educational work and take steps so that such situations cannot recur under any circumstances."

In the language of theory and of a theory that often oversimplifies out of love of conceptualizing, the problem of scientific-materialist education is sometimes reduced to the relationship of three successive stages, religion, education and atheism. But in practice the respective ideas often prove far too abstract to be really operational. "Religion" as such is not to be found in the educational programs because it takes varied and very different forms. As a distinct area of reality to which scientific-materialist education critically refers, religion is a complex phenomenon that cannot be viewed from any one standpoint. Directly or indirectly, the religious phenomenon is in certain relationships with all social subsystems, making it necessary to overcome the abstract judgments and speculative generalizations and consequently to prepare and carry out specific educational programs, "to the point" and necessarily coordinated.

Religion is commonly defined as a false reflection. In other words it is seen primarily as a reflection, a determination presenting its genus proximus or the fact that it expresses another form of existence and a determinant, and secondly

as a false reflection, a determination presenting its particular difference distinguishing it from the other forms of social awareness reflecting the material life of society.

In accordance with the nature of the religious phenomenon and the two above-mentioned determinations, two forms of action were structured in the historical process of man's emancipation from religious alienation, one on the intellectual level aimed at the erroneous nature of religious ideas, and the other implemented processually in the system of society's material life and primarily oriented toward the social facts that cause that kind of reflection. The strategy based on the idea that religion is determined by people's material conditions appeared later, when society reached a certain stage of development. As Marx said, only in those circumstances did criticism of heaven become criticism of earth, the object of the action now being the structure of material existence.

Gradual reform of the material conditions generating religion in the process of socialist construction suggested the hasty conclusion in some popular works, but not only in them, that the effort to free man of religious beliefs can be made solely on the intellectual level. No longer reflecting social reality, religion persists under socialism, according to the said works, solely because of inertia and the relative independence that characterizes the forms of social awareness. Religion is analyzed in this view as it can be determined, from standpoints of epistemology. Despite the advantages of this approach, the fact cannot be overlooked that it ultimately narrows the scope of comprehension of the religious phenomenon and thereby limits the possibility of preparing and applying the best strategies in educational work.

The fact cannot be contested that the spread of scientific knowledge among the masses, including the believers or those more or less under the influence of religious education, is one of the directions wherein the confrontation with religion has made the most progress. Increasingly broad masses of people have more or less mastered the system of truths about nature, society and intellectual experience. But paradoxically a sort of faith in the absolute power of the contemporary sciences to melt the frozen structures of religion by themselves was also created through a unique process of fetishizing science. This exaggerated faith is explained by the frequent confusion between religion as a form of objectivized awareness in a particular system of explanations and the state of religious belief, which takes subjective forms in specific individuals. For religion as a phenomenon of awareness exists in specific persons professing religious ideas in the form of convictions. Mere theoretical demonstration of the falsity of those ideas by means of scientific truths is not always followed by restriction of belief. Experience with this situation in educational practice shows once again that the subject of atheist education is and must be the specific individual and not just religion in itself. The problem of scientific-materialist education is not confined to demonstrating the error of religious ideas but also requires changes in the individual's social-moral convictions and options as well as all-around development of his personality.

Interpretation of religion solely as a reflection does not entirely cover its content as a complex social phenomenon. For example, the error of religious ideas is in conformity with their subject (the supernatural) and correspondingly with the realities explained by them, but not also in connection with the nature



of the social relationships which, in the course of history, caused the human being to retreat into religious representations. Religion is knowledge (a series of false disciplines) but not only that. It is a certain way of structuring human awareness. Therefore, while in the light of the materialist theory of knowledge religious ideas are false, they nevertheless provided specific answers to some tragic states of the human condition caused by unjust social relations and by antagonistic social contradictions. Rejection of the cognitive content of the religious representations does not necessarily lead to repudiation of religion by all persons.

As a real condition and a particular way of structuring human awareness, religion is actually, like any other form of social awareness, a reflection of the real world and of the alienated condition of the individual in certain social relationships. People's awareness is driven to the supernatural by their social existence itself, so that religion does not take the form of a cognitive process alone. Compensatory fantasy operates alongside the acts of knowledge, which it subordinates to some extent. It enables the individual to break with reality and his material existence, which oppress his being but whose pressure he can sublimate. He can create another world upon which he depends as upon something real. Religion is that kind of relating of the individual to the world.

As a body of ideas explaining the world, religion is a product of the effort to comprehend the real by knowledge. This presents the problem of the value of the truth or falsity of these ideas. But they are and must also be viewed as products of social existence and as results of some objective determinations according to which existence with and in conformity to the other subsystems of the overall social system is structured and functions as a distinct reality and not only as a product. This time it is not what the religious ideas say about reality (whether they are true or not) that is significant, but how they are and what kind of realities they are.

The point about the disappearance of the social roots of religion under the conditions of the new society presents the aspect of discontinuity in man's historical evolution, which aspect however must be viewed dialectically in unity with that of continuity. As a phenomenon of awareness, religion "lives" in individuals and continues its existence through the succession of the generations. In the socialist order the generation in formation no longer encounters alienating conditions regularly operating so that religious awareness would be generated under their pressure. But as the members of the new generation become individuals in contact with the previous generation, they will be able to receive the religious ideas from those under whose influence they are formed. Sometimes under controlling circumstances the individual awareness breaks with the real, ignores the new socialist realities, and relates to the supernatural, which will be assimilated not as an idea of those professing it but as an objectively existing reality.

The religious awareness present in social existence (just as real as any other subsystem of the social whole and not a mere collection of errors) functions determinatively upon the awareness of the youths who are formed as social subjects. While demonstrating the nonexistence of the supernatural and the consequent falsity of the religious ideas, scientific-materialist education must also consider the influences exercised by adult believers upon youths in order to meet

those influences by counteracting them but also to accomplish what is called educating the educators by persevering in the efforts to free the religious subjects of their belief in the supernatural or, at least, to make them realize that religion is a private matter that should not be extended to others. Criticism of religion may remain an abstract procedure if its limited to rejecting religious ideas because they are false. Systematic, comprehensive studies for this purpose are needed in order to reveal the mechanism of transition of religious awareness from one generation to the next, so that education may take the right steps with the necessary tact.

One-sided views in analyzing the religious phenomenon (sometimes present in journalistic works and originating inconsistent educational initiatives in some situations) can be overcome by approaching it from the standpoint of the theory of existence, which requires and permits demonstration of the existential status of religion, its real nature, and its specific manifestations.

Religious awareness is a false and fantastic reflection but not only that. It is a certain way of being, a "conscious existence." It lives and exists in people among the other social modes of existence. The fact that it is of a historical nature is one aspect of the problem, while the fact that it is present in the socialist social system and functioning is another.

Regarded for analytical purposes as if it existed outside of people and particular individuals as a reflection floating above their heads and as a false, fantastic reflection, religion is somehow viewed in itself as something objective and impersonal. Its analysis from the epistemological standpoint or from that of the reflection theory can be useful to theory only if it is remembered that the bearers of religion have been disregarded for the moment and that it is investigated apart from them not because it exists without them but in order to reveal its complex nature in that way.

But sometimes the methodological principle becomes a theoretical conclusion, so that comprehension of the religious phenomenon is restricted by overlooking the requirements of the theory of existence. Hence the conclusion that dissemination of scientific truth is enough to combat religion as a false reflection because that would overcome its existence at the same time.

The epistemological procedure as well as that of the reflection theory is somehow oriented toward the external realities of the religious system and toward the "collateral" relations of its characteristic ideas. These relationships must unquestionably be analyzed, but analysis does not and cannot tell all. The investigation cannot be confined to analysis of the object of the religious reflection. In fact, in order to clarify the problem of the object (but not for that alone) the believing subject must be investigated.

If we go beyond the cognitive aspect of religion to view it from the ontological standpoint, we shall find that the religious individual is trying not to know the world but rather to know a certain world corresponding by its nature to the way he hopes to find it and the way he himself exists in conformity with the requirements of the religious discourse.

In his past history man has never found fulfillment in the world in which he lived or in his relationships with others. And as society develops and human



relations are accentuated and multiplied, he will be increasingly lost in this world. Under these circumstances the man-to-divinity relationship is superimposed in the believer's awareness upon the real man-to-man structure.

Also present in socialism as a reflection of outmoded existential states, religion is the object of the educational efforts to free man of what pertains to the past. Scientific-materialist education is a basic aspect of political-educational work in Romanian society. Formation of the man with a strong, original and versatile personality firmly anchored in reality is naturally not a spontaneous process but a result of the educational efforts exerted.

Education itself proves effective more or less according to its objectives, but it cannot solve all the problems confronting it. It is often faced with problems of life that life alone can solve. Educational work cannot ignore such situations, but neither can it resolve what actually pertains to other social fields or the overall social system.

Socialist society has the necessary conditions so that the individual no longer has to relate to the super natural in his actions. But the question is whether those conditions suit every member of society and whether they operate as a coordinated whole and in the best way for each while meeting the natural expectations of all. The new society places the human being in conditions other than the situations in the past. But the fact must not be overlooked that socialism is an evolving procedure and no utopian ideal or embodiment of perfection. In other words it is a complex experience constantly developing by overcoming some contradictions and by the conflict between new and old. In his speech in August 1978 Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said, "... not everything is ideal in the socialist countries. Unfortunately some problems have not been completely solved in these countries, including Romania. The principles of socialist ethics and justice have not always been fully applied, and much remains to be done in order to implement them entirely. Moreover in a certain period some abuses were committed concerning which the RCP as well as other parties took a stand that was suitable at the time. But there are also problems whose solution depends on intensification of the productive forces, more intensive development of science, culture and education, and growth of the resources that society has."

A new social structure has been created under socialism, wherein the principle of humanity can operate in human relations. But humanity, characteristic of socialist human relations, becomes a reality only through specific people, sometimes with different natures and subjective attitudes, and through their behavior toward each other. And if some prove inhumane, humanity is annulled in the particular situations and remains only in the potential stage. And when the believer experiences indifference, abuses etc. he will not be induced to renounce his faith merely because he is told and it is scientifically demonstrated to him that his ideas of this world are false.

Scientific education is only a course of action taken so that religious ideas will be abandoned. The fundamental course of action is the process of perfecting the new order on all levels and in all fields and organization of people's lives so that the values created by mankind shall serve them, protect them, and secure their fulfillment, while they experience that fulfillment through them.

Ultimately man is freed of religion by complete humanization of social relations, a process that is the object of revolutionary procedure. Therefore religion cannot be confronted as if it were a matter of eliminating some mere vagaries of awareness. The individual's true fulfillment, never completed but the only one possible, requires a comprehensive, regular and persevering effort both on the intellectual level through educational measures and on the practical level through participation in social activity, in the whirl of life, and in the solution of its problems. In that way the individual proves his ability to fulfill himself effectively through creative activity on behalf of others' lives and his own.

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CSO: 2700/108

HORVAT STRESSES NEED FOR MORE INFORMATION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 83 p 7

[Article by Branko Horvat]

[Text] There is no more pitiful and grotesque situation than one in which uninformed self-management personnel are making decisions.

Civil rights are not the product of abstract moral postulates. They are always a function of a definite socioeconomic system. Political democracy was impossible under feudalism. An economic democracy (self-management) is impossible under capitalism or state centralism. The obverse is also true: positively defined, self-management is a constituent element of socialism, and self-management is impossible without complete and true informing of the self-management personnel. There is no more pitiful and grotesque situation than one in which uninformed self-management personnel are making decisions.

In order for capitalism to be able to function normally, every citizen must have free access to the market. For self-management socialism to function, every citizen must have free access to information. In that conclusion there is another, deeper meaning that follows from the development of productive forces. Capitalist industrial technology and state centralism are based on capital (either private or state). Post-industrial technology of the post-capital and post-state-centralist society is based on information.

For those who accept self-management socialism, it would be hard to regard the above as debatable. The disputes come when we move from social theory to social practice. The right of self-management personnel to complete, true information is not and cannot be debatable. The disputes arise when one must determine what is complete and what is true information.

The role of complete and true information in a socialist society cannot be overestimated. From that it follows that the producers of information, the journalists, have an exceptionally important role. That fact must be reflected in the social prestige of the journalist's profession. When, however, a few years ago a sociological study was made of relative positions of prestige of individual professions in our Yugoslav society, the journalists came out by far in last place in their own estimate and in the public's estimate.

From this poor estimation of the journalist's profession, one could extract the conclusion that something is deeply wrong with the system for informing Yugoslav citizens.

#### A Simple Theory, a Complex Practice

Although civil rights are a function of the socioeconomic system, by the very fact that they are civil rights, they are conditioned by the development and functioning of the state. The state, as one of the key social institutions, is not simply the product of the social system. Rather, it functions in a reciprocal yoke that also shapes that system. In other words, the state has a certain developmental and functional autonomy. Although it is correct that every true revolution destroys the old state, it is also true that the new state does not begin from nothing, but rather it is built on the foundations of the destroyed old state. In that regard, we are not in a particularly fortunate position.

Modern states are the products of long-term, centuries-old development. The Yugoslav state is not older than the average longevity of its citizens. Furthermore, it was formed as a Balkan state, with all those peasant patriarchal, autocratic and primitive bureaucratic attributes of an unscrupulous and intolerant government, i.e., attributes that make up the concept of a Balkan state. And finally, the Yugoslav peoples had not had the opportunity to build a tradition of political democracy, because prior to forming their own state they had lived under foreign occupation that in the best of circumstances meant denationalization, and in the worst, physical extermination.

In that way, instead of a political democracy with an orderly civilian life and legality, we developed the traditions of bandits and brigands, whose very existence depended on breaking the law. Instead of relationships in which the government in some way cared for the needs of the people, and the people had a certain confidence in the government, we inherited a deep distrust between the government and the people. A Balkan government is not a government if it is not arbitrary and not shackled by innovations or sanctions. Therefore, it did not respond to the people, it gave orders. The people could not hold the government responsible for anything, the people had to listen submissively. On its part the people, i.e., the citizens, returned to avoiding the law and sabotaging the government. The person who obeyed the law and regulations did so to his own detriment and behaved unintelligently. The one who undermined the government and avoided the laws was a hero, or at least a wise man, if he attained some benefits from so doing.

#### Demagogic Champions

A Balkan government cultivated deep distrust toward the people and believed that the people should be kept under sharp police discipline in order to incapacitate their destructive instincts. And there was truth to that. For its part, the people did not expect anything good from their state. And they too were right. Matters were further complicated by the fact that there was not just one pitiful people, but a number of them. Thus space emerged for

demagogic functioning of champions of "national" interests. The animosity between the government and the people was joined by the animosity between individual differing peoples. The result was Balkanization: the separation of political communities and atomization of the society. In order for such a state to function, a system was developed of connections and protection with the most varied forms of corruption.

One of the slogans under which the Yugoslav revolution fought was the slogan of brotherhood and unity. It seemed that the national animosities were definitely overcome. But that turned out to be an illusion. The first sobering came in 1971. The second was the events in the Kosovo eruption. The quiet dissolution of the federation reflects the same sum of social facts.

One of the features of our revolution was popular rule. The national liberation councils committed errors and, at times, crudities. Yet it is difficult to dispute that they were truly popular. Today the opstinas no longer have the formal attribute of being "popular."

Yet it is much more important that the mistreatment in front of the opstina windows and the arbitrariness of the opstina bureaucracy can be experienced as popular rule only with great difficulty. The same estrangement from the government is taking place at higher levels. Yet the present crisis needs confidence, with its hundreds of thousands of unemployed, disregard for the law, stagnant production and shortages that are like those during wartime. This is a crisis when the state, or those who represent the state, stubbornly reject to accept any sort of responsibility for the disappearance of an illusion. It is as if, from some ignored and uncontrolled hiding place, the monstrous face of the old Balkan state has begun to leer at us.

This historical excursus was necessary to put our theme into a concrete sociohistorical context. Three obvious conclusions follow: A. The pressure of the past is so strong that we cannot expect any sort of spontaneous solution to the problem. In reality, we must expect the strong resistance of groups and strata that extract some benefit from an irresponsible governmental position. B. Since it is a matter of a historically formed consciousness, not only would it be an illusion to attempt to extract some radical change overnight, but it would be socially dangerous. Such a change would neither be accepted nor responsibly used, and it would necessarily provoke conflicts and confrontations. C. It follows that the most effective means for a certainly gradual but long-term and lasting change in the situation is the struggle for complete and true information. From civil rights and the functional element, information now appears as the existential precondition of our society. The struggle for information, obviously, is understood to be both a dialogue and a critique.

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CSO: 2800/140

LJUBLJANA LC REJECTS CRITICISM OF SCHOOL CHANGES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by J. Pjevic]

[Text] After rather long justifications had been heard from Matevs Krivic, who in any case is not a member of this body, and a heap of documents had been read, members of the city LC committee have condemned his behavior, considering that everything could have been resolved within the framework of the basic LC organization.

Ljubljana, 21 January 1983--The Ljubljana city LC committee, as the fifth point on its agenda at its recent meeting, spent a great deal of time debating the letter of Matevs Krivic, a teacher at the Advanced Administrative School and a member of the basic LC organization in that school.

At the end of the debate, which was open and democratic, and at times highly electric, the City Committee (formerly called the City Conference) concluded (as had the city leadership of other sociopolitical organizations before it) that there was not a single reason for submitting a new interpellation to establish the responsibility of the City Executive Council for its actions in connection with the implementation of directed education in Ljubljana. The proposal that the City LC Committee and the Presidium of the City SAWPY Conference, through their delegates in the Sociopolitical Council of the City Assembly, use a new interpellation to initiate an action to establish the responsibility of the City Executive Council for "repeated deceiving of delegates and the public with false assertions" came from Matevs Krivic at the beginning of November 1982 in a letter to the City LC Committee and the Presidium of the City SAWPY Conference.

Referendum for an Elite School

The second conclusion adopted by the City Committee stated that all of Matevs Krivic's crude accusations aimed at the LC were rejected, and that he would be held responsible for them, while the third conclusion stated that the basic LC organization of which he is a member would have to discuss his moral and political responsibility and inform the City Committee of its findings and decisions through the Opstina Committee of the Ljubljana-Bezigrad LC. The

basic organization was to receive all materials in connection with this matter. The first conclusion was adopted unanimously, while only Kucka Kriznar abstained from the voting on the other two conclusions. She explained that she accepted the first conclusion, but that she could not make up her mind about the other two, despite the broad debate.

The young attorney and sociopolitical worker Matevs Krivic is one of the more active initiators, writers and signers of the well-known "open letter" last year of a large group of public and scholarly workers, addressed to the top leadership of the Slovenian LC, in which a number of critical comments were made in connection with the implementation of the concept of directed education and the involvement of participants in two public tribunals at the "Cankar House" that more "condemned" directed education than debate problems of its implementation in practice.

Since then (the middle of last year), the city leadership of Ljubljana has been occupied with the "Krivic case." Open conflict and complications came when, in connection with the decision of responsible educational communities on the "transformation" of the former Subic high school (which had had the unjustified reputation of being an "elite high school") into a regular secondary school with a general sociological direction, and the transfer of its present teachers and students into the neighboring former Poljanska high school.\* A number of teachers resisted this "transformation" and transfer, and therefore they sought to have the matter decided by a referendum. By law, however, such a decision is to be made by the responsible educational communities and a referendum of clarification by the directly involved collective is not necessary.

In May 1982 the City Executive Council informed the Council for Associated Labor of the city Assembly about this dispute and the implementation of directed education in the city, and that organization accepted the report. The City Executive Council warned at that time that activities had been undertaken that were directed against the promulgation of the decision adopted in the educational communities and against the quest for the best solutions to implement them. At the same time it informed the assembly that the workers' council of the Ivan Cankar secondary school (the former Subic high school) had decided that it would not make any decisions, including one about a referendum, until the City Assembly completed its debate on the problems of directed education in the city, and until personnel and space problems were resolved.

Delegates of the Council of Associated Labor of the Bezigrad Opstina Assembly reacted to the report of the City Executive Council and the conclusions of the Council of Associated Labor of the City Assembly. On the initiative of Matevs Krivic (who incidentally lives and works in this opstina, and not in the center opstina where the Ivan Cankar secondary school is located), a

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\* Translator's Note: the term high school refers to the academic "gymnasium" in the European sense, while secondary school is a general high school.



group of delegates of this council submitted an interpellation to the Council of Associated Labor of the City Assembly with the request that it consider at its next session the question of responsibility of the City Executive Council for "deceiving the delegates of that council with untrue and incomplete assertions" in the information mentioned above, which the Council of Associated Labor of the City Assembly had adopted. The justification for the interpellation stated that "the city and opstina officials had unjustly prevented the workers and students of the Ivan Cankar school from their referendum intentions on association with the Poljanska school, even though both before and after they had requested that the referendum be conducted."

By letter, Matevs Krivic informed the City Committee and the Presidium of the City SAWPY Conference that, together with Anton Lah, a professor of the Ivan Cankar secondary school, he had proposed to delegations of the Council of Associated Labor that in the labor organizations in which they were employed they should initiate action to establish the responsibility for "deceiving delegates of the City Assembly with untrue assertions and concealment of essential facts, and that they should submit an interpellation to the Council of Associated Labor of the City Assembly." In the letter he expressed the fear that it could happen that that initiative would "encounter open and disguised resistance, particularly in certain official circles that at times had a powerful influence on the delegates." At the same time he suggested that the City LC Committee and the Presidium of the City SAWPY Conference "support politically this manner of establishing responsibility within the framework of the delegate system."

#### Unacceptable Interpellation

All three councils of the City Assembly considered the interpellation mentioned above, rejected it as without foundation and concluded that the reports of the City Executive Council were "correct, adequate in content and complete." The Sociopolitical Council warned in addition that too much attention was being paid to the fate of the former Ivan Cankar high school, and that in that connection both pressure and attempted coercion of delegates' decisions had been encountered. Similar evaluations and positions in connection with this interpellation came from the city leadership of sociopolitical organizations.

This outcome of the debate on interpellation did not satisfy Matevs Krivic. He rebuked the City Committee and the Presidium of the City SAWPY Conference for "supporting the answer of the City Executive Council to the interpellation and the Bezigrad delegates and judging the interpellation to be unacceptable." From that he concluded that those two agencies had "a priori believed the state agency, and a priori refused to believe those who criticized it." Then he pointed out that the assertions in the report of the City Executive Council in connection with the conducting, or the non-conducting, of a referendum at the Ivan Cankar school were "not only pure inventions, as we had thought previously, but also perfidious and crude falsifications."

Krivic informed Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, about this letter and initiative of his. In that correspondence, among other things he stressed that he would "use all means afforded him by the LC Statute until the shameful blotch was removed from the moral visage of the Ljubljana LC Organization."

After listening to the rather long justification given by Matevs Krivic, who by the way is not a member of the city committee, and reading a pile of documents, 20 participants in the debate condemned his behavior and actions as unacceptable and crude posturing and slander of the entire city organization of the League of Communists. Jozse Smole, president of the City Conference, further pointed out that the LC needs broad democratic debates, but that which is accepted is that manner must be implemented conscientiously, and every member of the LC was obliged to help. Others agreed with him. He warned that the LC cannot permit such crude posturing, imputing and denigrating of the efforts of the entire LC, the delegate assembly and its agencies.

Matevs Krivic stated at that point that everything he had said, he had said at LC meetings, and not on street corners, that he had not received any answers to his questions, that he would continue his actions in connection with the interpellation and that sooner or later the truth would come out into the open.

In connection with this case the City LC Committee, the Bezigrad Opstina LC Committee and the basic LC organization of which Matevs Krivic is a member could be criticized for giving too much attention to this case and losing an opportunity to decide the matter sooner and within the framework of the basic LC organization, without having it reach the city level and having the entire matter exaggerated and made even more complicated.

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CSO: 2800/140

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

SLOVENIANS NEEDED IN MILITARY--In a program approved today, the members of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia have given special attention to the orientation of the youth toward the military and defense professions. The reason for this is the fact that Slovenians are inadequately represented in the defense forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Considering the national composition, there should be 2,500 more career military men of Slovenian nationality (the percentage of Slovenians in the population of the SFRY is 8.2 percent and the percentage of [Slovenian] career military men in the Yugoslav People's Army is 2.8 percent). In view of the lessening interest in the military profession in Slovenia, this figure is expected to become even lower. Since the representation of Slovenians in the military and defense professions is an element of national cadre policy, the achievement of a more appropriate representation of Slovenians is a task for all forces, especially, the League of Communists. It is necessary, with the organized action of the League of Communists, to get more Slovenian cadres in the defense forces--considering quality as well as number--and this must become an element of the execution of the cadre policy in the republic and in all the opstinas (in many, this effort is completely neglected). Also, tasks have been set for communists in individual activities and, in particular, the role of the coordinating councils of the Socialist Association of Working People in orienting the youth toward the military and defense professions has been emphasized. [by Vlado Slamberger] [Excerpts] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Feb 83 p 1]

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END